who was a native of the Sandwich Iſlands, plunged frequently from the gunwale of the veſſel into the ſea, to catch dollars thrown into it for that purpoſe. He caught them before they reached the bottom, as, from their two oppoſite flat ſurfaces they deſcended in ſo vibratory a direction, that he had an opportunity of overtaking them. He would alſo bring up two dollars at once, one thrown towards the head, and another towards the ſtern of the ſhip. His activity was indeed ſurpriſing in every inſtance where he had occaſion to ſhew it. He would ſuffer two Europeans to throw ſpears at him at the ſame time, both of which he would divert with, or take in his hands as they approached him. This man, ſo extraordinary for his agility, was found in the Republican brig Amelia, when captured by Sir Eraſmus Gower. He paſſed with apparent willingneſs on board the Lion, perhaps as the larger veſſel, where he had been ſome months, but could not utter one word of French or Engliſh; and probably he was not ſenſible what Powers he had ſerved, or that he had altered his allegiance. He was of an open countenance, not unpleaſing features, and of a good-natured diſpoſition. Had the powers of his mind been exerciſed as thoſe of his body were, it is poſſible that the former might have acquired as remarkable a proficiency as the latter had done. Man is formed, probably, by his nature and his organization, to excel other animals equally in mental and corporeal faculties.

TOPOGRAPHY AND NATURAL HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 896.

County of Fife concluded.

ABDIE. This pariſh is of a very irregular form and much detached, but the extent is conſiderable, it contains 500 inhabitants. The ſurface is hilly and naked, there being no planting or wood of any extent, though very fit for carrying timber, Norman's Law, one of Ochils, is of conſiderable height. The number of old manſion houſes in this pariſh beſpeak it to have been once better inhabited and more eſteemed. The fine lake of Lindores is well ſtored with perch and pike. The ſtone quarries of this pariſh yield between 5 and 600l. per annum. They are exported for paving the ſtreets of London.

KILMANY, about 3 miles diſtant from the port of Balmerino on the Tay is 6 miles in length, its greateſt breadth is 4. It conſiſts of a fine valley or ſtrath, of about a mile in breadth, ſurrounded with hills on each ſide. The river Motray, flowing gently through it, fertilizes the fields and beautifies the ſcenery. The want of ſufficient planting is much felt. On the top of the hill lies the pariſh of

CAMERON naked and bleak, regarding which nothing particular occurs.

BALMERINO ſtretches along the banks of the Tay upwards of 3 miles, the breadth ſomewhat exceeds 2; it contains 700 inhabitants. This pariſh preſents two ridges of hills, the ſoil of which is thin and ſharp, but productive, eſpecially in barley and potatoes. The workmanſhip upon ſome of the pillars of the abbey of Balmerino is much admired.

FISK ſituated on the river Tay, oppoſite the Caſe of Gowrie, extends 3 miles in length, and one in breadth. The number of inhabitants is only 330. Here ſtands the old caſtle of Ballenbreeck, once the reſidence of the Rothes family. From the top of Norman's Law, there is a very extenſive proſpect.

DAIRSIE. This pariſh extends about 2½ miles each way, and contains 470 inhabitants. The general appearance is that of a gentle riſing ground, terminating in two hills of a very moderate height, called *Foodie*. The ſoil is good and in ſome parts extremely rich. It is watered by the Eden, which abounds with excellent trout. Dairſie houſe, ſituated on the banks of the river, is a

pleaſant

pleasant and romantic residence, the property of the Marchioness of Titchfield.

Dunbog lies between two hills, having a large bog or morass at the west end, from which it derives its name. It is 3 miles in length, and 2 in breadth, and contains 235 inhabitants. The greatest part of the land is arable, but wet.

Kembach from east to west measures 4, and from north to south 1 mile. It contains about 1850 acres, of which 1500 are arable. The number of inhabitants is 590. The surface is considerably diversified, and all kinds of soil are to be met with. The river Eden is the northern boundary, and abounds with trout here. At Myrtown, on the estate of Blebo, specimens of lead ore were discovered, and about the year 1748 attempts made to work it. From some circumstances, though abundantly promising, the attempt was abandoned, and has not since been renewed.

Cupar is situated in the middle of the peninsula of Fife. The extent of the parish is nearly 5 miles, when measured both ways, this district is watered by the river Eden, on both sides of which the ground rises considerably. The soil on the north side is a black mould, on the south it is cold and thin, with a bottom of till. Cupar is a royal burgh and the county town. It boasts of high antiquity, as the Thanes of Fife, according to the earliest accounts, held their courts of justice here. The town when approached from the east, has a neat and elegant appearance. The chief manufacture is linen of various sorts, of which there is annually stamped, to the value of 20,000l. Sterling.

Cults, lying in the vicinity of Cupar, and on the banks of the Eden, stretches upwards of 2 miles from north to south, and 1½ from east to west. The number of its inhabitants is nearly 540. The general appearance is hilly, except on the banks of the river, but they do not rise to any great height.

Collessie extends 6 miles in length and 5 in breadth, and contains 950 inhabitants. On the north west it is hilly, the south is flat and uncultivated. Not far from the village, are the remains of two castles or fortifications, but no distinct account of them can be given.

Monimail. This parish contains upwards of 1100 inhabitants. It is in general a dry soil, and well cultivated. The house of Fairney, situated here, is said to have been one of Macduff's castles. Melville house, the seat of the Earl of Leven, with its extensive plantations are an ornament to this quarter.

Criech. This parish is from east to west 2, and from south to north, 3 miles, and contains 360 inhabitants. There are to be seen the vestiges of two Roman camps upon two hills.

Auchtermuchty is a small parish, 2 miles in length, and 1½ in breadth, and containing 1440 inhabitants. Around the village the ground is pretty flat and tolerably fertile; towards the north it rises to hills, which are covered with heath. The manufacture of linen cloth is carried on to some extent.

Ceres. The length of this parish is about 8 miles, its breadth 4, and contains 2320 inhabitants. It is generally hilly, but none are of great height, and almost all of them are cultivated to the top. The river Eden runs along the north west side, the banks of which are rich and well cultivated. The venerable tower of Struthers, formerly the seat of the Earls of Crawfurd, stands about a mile and a half from the village; about the same distance also, upon the estate of Scotstarvet there is a conspicuous tower about 60 feet high, built of polished free-stone. Here lies also the estate of Craighall, the property of Sir Thomas Hope, advocate to King Charles the first, and from whom the principal families of the name of Hope are descended. In this parish too is Maggurt moor, famous for being the scene of Archbishop Sharp's death, in the 1697. Lindsay of Pit-scottie,

author of the History of Scotland was a native of this parish.

KETTLE is of an oblong and irregular figure, nearly 8 miles in length, and 2 in breadth. It contains 1650 inhabitants. The south east and south west parts are hilly and bleak, the other pretty level, but upon the whole, the land is well cultivated; from the want of wood it has but a bleak appearance.

STRATHMIGLO is 5½ miles long, and 3½ broad, and contains 980 inhabitants. It is partly flat, and partly hilly. The yearly rent of the whole is nearly 3000l. per annum.

FALKLAND, once the residence of the Scottish Kings, is now an inconsiderable village; a palace in ruins being almost the only remains of its former grandeur. The parish consists of the two conic hills called the Lomonds, with the intermediate space. The number of its inhabitants is about 2200, the weaving of coarse linen is the principal branch of manufacture. On the eastern Lomond, there is limestone, coal, and lead ore, which of late has been opened for working.

MARKINCH. This parish extends from north to south 5½ miles, and from west to east 5 miles, its form is irregular, but it consists of about 7000 acres, which would rent at about 5000l. The number of inhabitants is nearly 2,800. The ground rises gradually from the Frith of Forth, terminating in swelling hills called Laws, but of no great height. The flat ground is either a strong clay or a light loam, and the whole mostly is arable. This parish is watered by the Leven and the Ore, in both which are salmon and trout. A considerable number of horses and black cattle are bred here. Near Balbirnie bridge there has been a manufacture of linseed oil carried on for some time. Here stands Balgonie castle, once a place of great strength, the property of the Earl of Leven. Near it is the old house of Balfour or Balfor. Not far from the parish church is Balbirnie, a delightful and elegant spot, the residence of Mr Balfour.

KENNOWAY is an oblong square, 5 miles in length and 2 in breadth, and contains 1500 inhabitants; the whole parish lies on a bank gradually ascending from south to north. The soil is light and gravelly, all arable and in general fertile.

LESLY. This parish extends northward from the river Leven, and contains about 1220 inhabitants. The surface is in general flat and almost all arable. The chief employment in the town of Lesly is weaving.

KINGLASSIE. The extent of which from west to east is 6 miles, and from north to south 2. The number of its inhabitants is 1200. This district is flat on the banks of the small waters Lochty and Ore; from thence it rises gradually into two ridges; about one third of the land is in tillage, and the whole yields about 3000l. per annum.

AUCHTERDERAN is of an irregular form, 4 miles long and 3 broad, and contains 1200 inhabitants. The whole parish stands upon coal, is a wet unproductive soil. It is naked and bleak, and improvements go on but slowly, owing chiefly to the badness of the roads, which are here much neglected, and during a great part of the year, almost impassible. There is a mineral well here, which is mentioned for its medicinal qualities in Camden's Britannia, and Gordon's Itinerarium. Of late it has been quite neglected, and seems never to have been much applied.

AUCHTERGOOL is a small parish, 2 miles long, and one broad, containing 335 inhabitants. The surface is varied with rising grounds and little hills, but it is rather naked and exposed.

BALLINGRAY is an oblong, measuring 3 miles by one; it contains only 220 inhabitants. The soil is light, but not unproductive; improvements of late have gone on with spirit here, particularly on the shores of Lochore, Ballingray,

lingray, and Navity. A little to the weſtward of the houſe of Lochore may be ſeen the outlines of a Roman camp, very entire.

Beath is a ſmall inland pariſh about 4 miles long and three broad, ſituated at the weſt end of this county; it contains about 630 inhabitants. From the top of the hill of Beath, there is one of the fineſt proſpects to be met with; upon which account it is often viſited by ſtrangers.

Dumfermline. This pariſh is of an irregular form; the average extent may be reckoned 8 miles in length, and 5 in breadth. The number of its inhabitants is 9550. From the town, ſouthward, the ground ſlopes gently to the ſea, which is about 3 miles diſtant. The ſoil here is fertile and moſtly in tillage. To the north of the town it is hilly, naked, and in general barren and uncultivated. Dumfermline is a royal burgh and the ſeat of the preſbytery. It is ſituated on a riſing ground, 190 feet above the ſea, and commands various and beautiful proſpects. This town has long been diſtinguiſhed for its excellence in the manufacture of diaper or table linen. The value of goods annually manufactured, for ſome time paſt, has been from 50 to 60 thouſand pounds ſterling. The ingenuity of the inhabitants in weaving appeared at an early period; there is preſerved in the cheſt of the incorporations, a man's ſhirt wrought in the loom more than a century ago, by a man of the name of Inglis, which is without a ſeam or the leaſt aſſiſtance from the needle; the only part he could not execute was the neck buttons. Dumfermline was a royal reſidence at an early period. The chimney of the apartment may yet be ſeen where the unfortunate Charles I. was born. Within theſe 30 years there was to be ſeen, in an inn here, the nuptial bed of Queen Anne; it was made a preſent of by Mrs Walker, the proprietor, to the Earl of Elgin. The bed is of walnut tree, ornamented with ſeveral antique figures, neatly carved. The monaſtery was one of the moſt ancient in Scotland, it was raiſed to the dignity of an abbey, by king David the I. In 1593 it was erected into a temporal lordſhip, and beſtowed on Anne of Denmark, Queen to James the VI. The principle part of this magnificent building, was demoliſhed at the Reformation. The view from the town ſteeple repays the labour of aſcending a long and narrow ſtaircaſe. The late Mr George Chalmers of Pittencrief contributed much to the beauty and improvement of this place. The moſt extenſive lime works in Britain are thoſe belonging to the Earl of Elgin, ſo far as diſcovered the ſeam is a mile long, and from 20 to 50 feet thick. This quarter alſo abounds with coal and iron ſtone.

Carnock, lying in the weſtern extremity of the county, is nearly a ſquare of about 3 Engliſh miles, and containing about 770 inhabitants. Towards the eaſt it is pretty level, but riſes to the weſt. There is coal and iron ore over the whole pariſh, and ſeveral quarries of uncommonly fine ſandſtone. John Erſkine of Carnock, profeſſor of municipal law in the college of Edinburgh, and author of the Inſtitutes, was a native of this pariſh. From the ink craig of Carnock there continually drops a liquid reſembling *ink*. It proceeds from the coal.

Saline is 7 miles long, and 6 broad, and contains 950 inhabitants. The ſurface towards the weſt, to the extent of nearly one half of the pariſh, is pretty level; the eaſt part is hilly, ſome of which riſe to a conſiderable height. The yearly produce is about 2500l. ſterling per annum. There are ſeveral ruins of old towers in this pariſh, the moſt remarkable of which is Killerny.

(*To be continued.*)

POETRY.

POETRY.

FOR THE SCOTS MAGAZINE.

A HYMN,

On Faith, Fortitude, Reſignation, &c.

Being a repreſentation of the character and conduct of the followrer of Jeſus.

By the Rev. W. ROBB.

WHILE impious incredulity
Omnipotence defies,
Inſults the mercy, and arraigns
The wiſdom of the ſkies;

While ſin's bewild'ring mazes lead
To darkneſs and deſpair,
And frantic paſſions, uncontrol'd,
The guilty boſom tear.

Mark him, who in the ſacred ſteps
Of his Redeemer treads;
Whoſe perſevering virtue gains
That crown which never fades.

Does fortune ſmile? does Providence,
Benignly bleſs his days?
The tribute of a grateful heart
To bounteous Heaven he pays.

To aid the helpleſs his delight;
To deal to want his ſtore;
Into the wounds of human woe
The healing balm to pour.

To wean his ſoul from earthly joys,
Or fix his wav'ring faith,
Does fortune frown? does Heav'n afflict?
He's faithful unto death.

Firm and unſhaken, like a rock
Amid the raging waves,
Affliction's low'ring ſtorms he bears,
Though not, apathic, braves.

Nor with rebellious heart repines,
But mourns his comforts gone,
With "Father! not my will, but thine,
Thy bleſſed will be done."

Is he by ſland'rous tongues traduc'd?
Of cruel hands afraid?
By ſanguinary foes beſet?
By faithleſs friends betray'd?

Superior to revenge, theſe ills
With fortitude he bears,
In conſcious virtue comfort finds;
To Heaven commits his cares.

Thus life's accummulated ills
The lowly Jeſus bore,
To death, in all its horrors, doom'd,
Loſt ſinners to reſtore.

That bitter cup he meekly drank,
Which to our ſins was due,
And can we with vindictive eye,
His paſſive virtues view?

Behold the ſpotleſs Lamb of God,
On whoſe devoted head,
Our guilt, the bolts, the vengeance drew,
To cruel ſlaughter led!

Behold him on the accurſed tree,
Bath'd in the crimſon flood;
Ev'n there, his pray'rs aſcend for thoſe,
Who thirſted for his blood!

The wonders of redeeming love,
The honours of his name,
The theme of ev'ry heavenly ſong,
Let ev'ry tongue proclaim.

His ſacred ſteps may I purſue,
Suſtain'd by grace divine,
And mid the varied ſcenes of life
Content and peace be mine.

Tho' proſp'rous vice, may for a time,
With ſavage fury reign;
Though Truth and Innocence may wear
Oppreſſion's galling chain.

Soon ſhall Oppreſſion's boaſted pow'r
And tranſient empire ceaſe,
And Truth, almighty Truth, be crown'd
With victory and peace.

O! come the time, when patient worth
Shall gain that happy ſhore,
Where all the ills that now moleſt,
Vain mortals are no more.

Where ſin and ſorrow, pain and death,
Shall never more annoy;
Where God in boundleſs glory dwells,
And ſaints in endleſs joy!

There ſhall th' enraptur'd ſoul to him
Unceaſing praiſes ſing;
With angels loud hoſannas raiſe,
To Heaven's Eternal King.

MONUMENTAL INSCRIPTION,

Written by a Clergyman, to the memory of his worthy parents; of his brothers, one of whom died in his infancy, the other in the prime of life; and of an amiable ſiſter, who was ſuddenly cut off by an epidemical diſtemper, in the bloom of youthful beauty.

COULD hoary piety, and truth ſincere;
Could matron worth, to heav'n and earth ſo dear;
Could filial duty, or parental care,
Move ruthleſs, all ſubduing death to ſpare;
Could infant innocence his rage beguile,
Soften his rugged boſom with a ſmile;
Could generous youth, or virgin beauty, ſave
From a lamented and untimely grave.
Could all that bliſs ſuch kindred ſouls impare
Each kind affection that dilates the heart

Unſullied honour, blameleſs virtue;—all
That humanizes and exalts the ſoul;
From death's terrific empire reſcue;—here
Had weeping friendſhip never dropt a tear.
Yet if, alas! thoſe virtues cannot ſave,
From fell diſeaſe or reſcue from the grave,
Faith for the future diſſipates our fears,
And from the cheek of ſorrow wipes her tears,
Soothe the keen anguiſh of the throbbing breaſt,
And bids us hope, "Whatever is, is beſt."
Beholds th' immortal ſpirits of the juſt,
While now their relics ſlumber in the duſt,
From thoſe bright realms where joys for ever flow,
Look down with pity on this world of woe.
Behold's (O glorious ſcene!) in that great day,
When earth diſſolves, and heav'n ſhall paſs away,
Rouz'd by their Saviour's voice, the dead ariſe,
And meet their Lord triumphant in the ſkies.

St Andrews, Aug. 22. 1797.

JOHN ANDERSON, MY JOE.

IMPROVED.

By Robert Burns.

JOHN Anderſon, my joe, John, I wonder what you mean,
To riſe ſo ſoon in the morning, and ſit up ſo late at e'en,
Ye'll blear out a' your e'en, John, and why ſhould you do ſo?
Gang ſooner to your bed at e'en, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joe, John, when nature firſt began
To try her cany hand, John, her maſter-work was man;
And you amang them a' John, ſo trig frae tap to toe,
She prov'd to be nae journey-work, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joy, John, ye were my firſt conceit,
And ye need na think it ſtrange, John, tho' I ca' ye trim and neat;
Tho' ſome ſo'k ſay ye're auld, John, I never think ye ſo,
But I think ye're ay the ſame to me, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joe, John, we've ſeen our bairns bairns,
And yet my dear, John Anderſon, I'm happy in your arms,
And ſae are ye in mine, John, I'm ſure ye'll ne'er ſay no,
Tho' the days are gane that we hae ſeen, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joy, John, what pleaſure does it gie,
To ſee ſae mony ſprouts, John, ſpring up 'tween you and me,
And ilka lad and laſs, John, in our footſteps to go,
Makes perfect heaven here on earth, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joe, John, when we were firſt acquaint,
Your locks were like the raven, your bonny brow was brent,
But now your head's turn'd bald, John, your locks are like the ſnow,
Yet bleſſings on your froſty pow, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joe, John, frae year to year we've paſt,
And ſoon that year maun come, John, will bring us to our laſt,
But let na' that affright us John, our hearts were ne'er our foe,
While in innocent delight we liv'd, John Anderſon, my joe.

John Anderſon, my joe, John, we clamb the hill thegither,
And mony a canty day, John, we've had wi' ane anither;
Now we maun totter down, John, but hand in hand we'll go,
And we'll ſleep thegither at the foot, John Anderſon, my joe.

PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE NEGOTIATION AT LISLE.

CONCLUDED FROM PAGE 913

No 13.—Copy of the Project delivered by Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries, in their Conference, July 8. 1797.

BE it known to all thoſe whom it ſhall or may in any manner concern: The moſt Serene and moſt Potent Prince, George the Third, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Duke of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, Arch Treaſurer and Elector of the Holy Roman Empire; and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, being equally deſirous to put an end to the war which has for ſome time paſt ſubſiſted between the dominions of the two parties, have named and conſtituted for their Plenipotentiaries, charged with

with the concluding and ſigning of the definitive treaty of peace, viz. the King of Great Britain, the Lord Baron of Malmeſbury, a Peer of the kingdom of Great Britain, Knight of the Moſt Honourable Order of the Bath, Privy Counſellor to his Britannic Majeſty, and the Executive Directory of the French Republic, ; who, after having exchanged their reſpective full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

I. As ſoon as this treaty ſhall be ſigned and ratified, there ſhall be an univerſal and perpetual peace, as well by ſea as by land, and a ſincere and conſtant friendſhip between the two contracting parties, and their dominions and territories, and people, this reciprocal friendſhip and intercourſe, without permitting hereafter, on either part, any kind of hoſtilities to be committed either by ſea or by land, for any cauſe, or any pretence whatſoever. There ſhall be a general oblivion and amneſty of every thing which may have been done or committed by either party towards the other, before or ſince the commencement of the war; and they ſhall carefully avoid, for the future, every thing which might prejudice the union happily re-eſtabliſhed. Immediately after the exchange of the ratification of this treaty, orders ſhall be ſent to the armies and ſquadrons of both parties to ſtop all hoſtilities; and, for the execution of this article, ſea paſſes ſhall be given on each ſide to the ſhips diſpatched to carry the news of peace to the poſſeſſions of the two parties.

II. The treaties of peace of Nimeguen of 1678 and 1679, of Ryſwick of 1679, and of Utrecht of 1713; that of Baden of 1714; that of the triple alliance of the Hague of 1717; that of the quadruple alliance of London of 1718; the treaty of peace of Vienna of 1736; the definitive treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle of 1748; the definitive treaty of Paris of 1763, and that of Verſailles of 1783, ſerve as a baſis and foundation to the peace, and to the preſent treaty. And for this purpoſe they are all renewed and confirmed in the beſt form, ſo that they are to be exactly obſerved for the future in their full tenour, and religiouſly executed by both parties in all the points which ſhall not be derogated from by the preſent treaty of peace.

III. All the priſoners taken on either ſide, as well by land as by ſea, and the hoſtages carried away or given during the war, ſhall be reſtored, with ranſom, in ſix weeks at leaſt, to be computed from the day of the exchange of the ratification of the preſent treaty, each party reſpectively diſcharging the advances which ſhall have been made for the ſubſiſtence and maintaining of their priſoners in the country where they ſhall have been detained, according to the receipts, atteſted accounts, and other authentic vouchers, which ſhall be furniſhed on each ſide; and ſecurity ſhall be reciprocally given for the payment of the debts which the priſoners may have contracted in the countries where they may have been detained, until their entire releaſe.

IV. With reſpect to the rights of fiſhery on the coaſts of the iſland of Newfoundland, and of the iſlands adjacent, and in the Gulph of St Lawrence, the two parties ſhall return to the ſame ſituation in which they ſtood reſpectively, according to the treaties and engagements ſubſiſting at the period of the commencement of the war. And with this view, his Majeſty conſents to reſtore to France, in full right, the iſlands of St Pierre and Miquelon.

V. The ſame principle of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, is adopted by mutual conſent, with reſpect to all other poſſeſſions and rights on both ſides, in every part of the world; ſave only the exceptions which are ſtipulated by the ſubſequent articles of this treaty. And, to this intent, all poſſeſſions or territories which have been conquered by one of the parties from the other (and not eſpecially excepted in this treaty), ſhall be reſtored to the party to whom they belonged at the commencement of the preſent war.

VI. From this principle of mutual reſtitution, the two parties have agreed to except which ſhall remain to his Britannic Majeſty in full ſovereignty.

VII. In all caſes of reſtitution provided by the preſent treaty, the fortreſſes ſhall be reſtored in the ſame condition in which they now are, and no injury ſhall be done to any works that have been conſtructed ſince the conqueſt of them.

VIII. It is alſo agreed, that in every caſe of reſtitution or ceſſion provided by any of the articles of this treaty, the

term of three years from the date of the notification of the treaty, in the reſpective territory or place ceded, ſhall be allowed to perſons of whatever deſcription, reſiding or being in the ſaid territory or place, poſſeſſed of property therein under any title exiſting before the war, or which has ſince devolved to them by the laws then exiſting; during which term of three years they ſhall remain unmoleſted in the exerciſe of their religion, and in the enjoyment of their poſſeſſions and effects, upon the conditions and titles under which they acquired the ſame, without being liable in any manner, or under any pretence, to be proſecuted or fined for their paſt conduct, except as to the diſcharge of juſt debts to individuals; and that all thoſe who, within the time of months after the notification of this treaty, ſhall declare to the Government, then eſtabliſhed, their intention to withdraw themſelves, or their effects, and to remove to ſome other place, ſhall have and obtain within one month after ſuch declaration, full liberty to depart and remove their effects, or to ſell and diſpoſe of the ſame, whether moveable or immovable, at any time within the ſaid period of three years, without any reſtraint or hindrance, except on account of debts at any time contracted, or of any criminal proſecution for acts done ſubſequent to the notification of this treaty.

IX. As it is neceſſary to appoint a certain period for the reſtitutions herein before ſtipulated, it is agreed, that the ſame ſhall take place in Europe within (one month), in Africa and America within (three months), and in Aſia within (ſix months), after the ratification of the preſent treaty.

X. For preventing the revival of the law ſuits which have been ended in the territories to be reſtored by virtue of this treaty, it is agreed, that the judgments in private cauſes pronounced in the laſt reſort, and which have acquired the force of matters determined, ſhall be confirmed and executed according to their form and tenour.

XI. The deciſion of the prizes and ſeizures of ſhips and their cargoes taken at ſea, or ſeized in the ports of either country, prior to the hoſtilities, ſhall be referred to their reſpective Courts of Juſtice; ſo that the legality of the ſaid prizes and ſeizures ſhall be decided according to the laws of nations, and to treaties, in the Courts of Juſtice of the nation which ſhall have made the capture, or ordered the ſeizures. And in order to prevent all caſes of complaint and diſpute which may ariſe on account of prizes which may be made at ſea after the ſigning of this treaty, it is reciprocally agreed, that the veſſels and effects which may be taken in the Britiſh Channel and in the North Seas, after the ſpace of twelve days, to be computed from the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, ſhall be reſtored on each ſide:—That the terms ſhall be one month from the Britiſh Channel and in the North Seas, as far as the Canary Iſlands, incluſively, whether in the Ocean or in the Mediterranean: Two months from the ſaid Canary Iſlands as far as the Equinoctial Line or Equator:—Three months from the Equator to any part to the weſtward of the Cape of Good Hope, and the eaſtward of Cape Horn:—And laſtly, five months in all other parts of the world, without any exception or any more particular deſcription of time or place.

XII. The allies of the two parties, that is to ſay, her Moſt Faithful Majeſty, as ally to his Britannic Majeſty, and his Catholic Majeſty and the Batavian Republic, as allies of the French Republic, ſhall be invited by the two contracting parties to accede to this peace on the terms and conditions ſpecified in the three following articles; the execution of which the ſaid two contracting parties reciprocally guarantee to each other, being hitherto reſpectively authorized by their above mentioned allies: And the two contracting parties further agree, that if their allies reſpectively ſhall not have ſo acceded within the ſpace of two months after the exchange of the ratifications of this treaty, the party ſo refuſing to accede ſhall not receive from its ally any aid or ſuccour, of any nature, during the further continuance of the war.

XIII. His Britannic Majeſty engages to conclude a definitive peace with his Catholic Majeſty on the footing of the ſtate of poſſeſſion before the war, with the exception of which ſhall remain in full ſovereignty to his Britannic Majeſty.

XIV. His Britannic Majeſty in like manner engages to conclude a definitive peace with the Batavian Republic on the ſame footing of poſſeſſion before the

the war, with the exception of

which shall remain to his Britannic Majesty in full sovereignty, and of

which shall be ceded to his Majesty in exchange for

In consideration of these restitutions, to be hereby made by his Britannic Majesty, all property belonging to the Prince of Orange, in the month of December 1794, and which has been seized and confiscated since that period, shall be restored to him, or a full equivalent in money given him for the same. And the French Republic further engages to procure for him, at the general peace, an adequate compensation for the loss of his offices and dignities in the United Provinces; and the persons who have been imprisoned or banished, or whose property has been sequestrated or confiscated in the said Republic, on account of their attachment to the interests of the House of Orange, or to the former Government of the United Provinces, shall be released, and shall be at liberty to return to their country, and to reside therein, and to enjoy their property there, conforming themselves to the laws and constitution there established.

XV. The French Republic engages to conclude a definitive peace with her Most Faithful Majesty on the same footing of the state of possession before the war, and without any further demand of burdensome conditions being made on either side.

XVI. All the stipulations contained in this treaty, respecting the time and manner of making the restitutions therein mentioned, and all the privileges thereby reserved to the inhabitants or proprietors in the islands or territories restored or ceded, shall apply in like manner to the restitutions to be made by virtue of any of the three last articles, viz. the XIIIth, the XIVth, and XVth, except in those instances where the same may be derogated from by the mutual consent of the parties concerned.

XVII. All former treaties of peace between the respective parties, to whom the said three articles relate, and which subsisted and were in force at the commencement of hostilities between them respectively, shall be renewed, except in such instances only where the same may be derogated from by mutual consent; and the articles of this treaty for the restoration of prisoners, the cessation of hostilities, and the decision relative to prizes and seizures, shall equally apply to the respective parties to whom the said three articles relate, and shall be held to be in full force between them, as soon as they shall respectively and in due form have acceded to this treaty.

XVIII. All requisitions imposed by any of the parties named in this treaty, on the rights, properties, or debts of individuals belonging to any other of the said parties, shall be taken off, and the property, of whatever kind, shall be restored in the fullest manner to the lawful owner; or *full* compensation be made for it; and all complaints of injury done to private property, contrary to the usual practice and rules of war, and all claims of private rights or property which belonged to individuals at the periods of the commencement of hostilities respectively, between the said parties, viz. Great Britain and Portugal on the one side, and France, Spain, and Holland on the other; and which ought, according to the usual practice and laws of nations, to revive at the period of peace, shall be received, heard, and decided in the respective courts of justice of the different parties; and full justice therein shall be done by each of the said parties to the subjects and people of the other, in the same manner as to their own subjects or people.

And if any complaint should arise respecting the execution of this article, which complaints shall not be settled by mutual agreement between the respective Governments within twelve months after the same shall have been preferred to them, the same shall be determined by sworn Commissioners to be appointed on each side, with power to call in an arbitrator of any indifferent nation; and the decision of the said Commissioners shall be binding and without appeal.

XIX. His Britannic Majesty and the French Republic promise to observe sincerely, and *bona fide*, all the articles contained and established in the present treaty; and they will not suffer the same to be infringed, directly or indirectly, by their respective subjects; and the said contracting parties guarantee to each other, generally and reciprocally, all the stipulations of the treaty.

XX. The solemn ratifications of the present treaty, prepared in good and due form, shall be exchanged in

between the contracting parties, in the space

ſpace of a month, or ſooner if poſſible, to be computed from the day of the ſignature of the preſent treaty.

In witneſs whereof, &c. &c.

No 14. B.—Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has the honour of preſenting to the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, in conſequence of the wiſh expreſſed by them in the conference of this morning, the following note, which he requeſts them at the ſame time to conſider, not ſo much in the light of an official paper, as of a verbal and confidential communication, and as a proof of his readineſs to facilitate the progreſs of the negotiation, by giving them, on the very outſet, all the explanations in his power on the *projet* of the treaty which he has delivered to them.

If, as the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have aſſured him, it is contrary to their moſt poſitive inſtructions to enter into any diſcuſſion relative to the ceſſion of thoſe poſſeſſions which belonged to France before the war, it is uſeleſs to dwell on the VIth article; ſince the compenſations which his Britannic Majeſty might have demanded by that article, in return for the reſtitutions which he is diſpoſed to make for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace, muſt, in conſequence of this declaration, be ſought for in the ceſſions to be made by his Catholic Majeſty, and the Batavian Republic.

Lord Malmeſbury therefore propoſes to inſert in the 13th article, after the words *ſtatus ante bellum*, the following words: "With the exception of the iſland of Trinidad, which ſhall remain in full poſſeſſion of his Britannic Majeſty."

Lord Malmeſbury imagines that it is unneceſſary for him to repeat the reaſons which induce him to inſiſt upon the retaining of this conqueſt, unleſs compenſation ſhould be made for it by ſome other ceſſion which ſhall balance the augmentation of power accruing to France, from the acquiſition of the Spaniſh part of St Domingo.

With regard to the 14th article, Lord Malmeſbury propoſes, that after the words *ſtatus ante bellum*, ſhould be added, "With the exception of the town, fort, and eſtabliſhment of the Cape of Good Hope, and of the poſſeſſions which belonged to the Dutch before the war in the Iſland of Ceylon, and of the town and fort of Cochin, which ſhall be ceded to his Britannic Majeſty in exchange for the town of Negapatnam and its dependencies."

Lord Malmeſbury repeats to the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, the aſſurance of his readineſs to concur with them, in every thing which ſhall depend on him, to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue; and requeſts of them, at the ſame time, to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) *Malmeſbury.*

Liſle, July 8. 1797.

No 15. C.—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have received the note which the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty did them the honour of addreſſing to them yeſterday. They will give to it, as well as to the project of a treaty to which it relates, the moſt ſerious attention. In the mean time, though they are not yet enabled to communicate to Lord Malmeſbury the remarks to which theſe two papers appear to them liable, they think it their duty to propoſe to him a conference to-morrow, at one o'clock, if that hour is agreeable to him, in order to treat with him on diſtinct points, the diſcuſſion of which may be entered upon ſeparately, and which may be proceeded in without delay.

They requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) *Le Tourneur.*
Pleville le Pelley.
Hughes B. Maret.
Colchen, Sec-Gen. of the Legation.

Liſle, 21 Meſſidor, 5th year of the Republic, July 9. 1797.

No 16. D.—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Liſle.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic lote no time in complying with the wiſh, expreſſed to them by the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, by tranſmitting to him a note on the three points which were the ſubject of their conference of this day.

1. They have poſitive orders to require

quire the renunciation of the title of King of France borne by his Britannic Majesty.

Lord Malmesbury is requested to observe, that the question is not only a renunciation of the rights which might be pretended to be derived from this title, but further and formally of the title itself. The establishment of the French Republic, and the acknowledgement of this form of government by the King of England, will not allow of his retaining a title which would imply the existence in France of an order of things which is at an end.

2. The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic are ordered to demand the restitution of the vessels taken or destroyed at Toulon.

Great Britain has publicly and formally declared, that these vessels were taken in trust for the King of France.—This trust is sacred. It incontestibly belongs to the Republic, which exercises the rights and the sovereignty that Great Britain attributed to Louis XVII. at the period of the capture of Toulon. His Britannic Majesty cannot, therefore, in acknowledging the French Republic, deny its right to the restitution required, or refuse either to make the restitution, or to offer an equivalent for it.

3. The Ministers Plenipotentiary have orders to demand, and do demand, the renunciation, on the part of his Britannic Majesty, of the mortgage on Belgium.

That country was mortgaged for the loans made by the Emperor in England. It has become an integral part of the French Republic, and cannot remain burdened with such a mortgage.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurance of their high consideration. (Signed)

Le Tourneur.
Pleville.
Hugues B. Maret.
Colchen, Sec. Gen. of Legation.

Lisle, le 22 Messidor, 5th year of Republic, July 10. 1797.

No 17.—Extract of a Dispatch from Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, July 13.

With respect to the demands contained in the note transmitted to your Lordship by the French Ministers, they have been naturally received here with great surprise. On the subject of the Netherlands as connected with the Austrian loans, it is conceived that any explanation between his Majesty and the French Government is wholly unnecessary. The loans raised in England for the service of the Emperor of Germany, and guaranted by act of Parliament here, rest, as your Lordship will perceive, by the annexed copy of the convention on that subject, upon the security of all the revenues of all the hereditary dominions of his Imperial Majesty. They do not seem in any manner to come under the description contained in the sixth article of the preliminaries between Austria and France, respecting mortgages upon the soil of the Netherlands, on which ground alone France could have any pretence to interfere in the business. Nor is this subject one which appears to be in any manner a fit point of discussion, between his Majesty and the Republic; the King neither forms, nor has any intention of forming any demand on the French Government, for the payment of any part either of the interest or capital of those loans. It is to the Emperor alone that his Majesty looks for the performance of his Imperial Majesty's engagements to him; and it is upon the Austrian Government, and upon its revenues, that individuals concerned in those loans have claims of private rights, and means of personal demand secured to them by the convention.

On the other two points I have nothing to add to the observations which your Lordship has already made upon them: And we can therefore only wait with impatience for the answer to the *projet* delivered by your Lordship, which will enable us to form a judgment on the intentions of the Government with whom we are treating.

Right Honourable Lord Malmesbury.

No 18.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, 16th July 1797.

It was at the express invitation of the French Plenipotentiaries that I met them on Thursday the 13th instant; *one of them* stated their motive for wishing to confer with me, not to be in consequence of any any answer they had received from Paris, on the subject of the *projet*, which, he observed, could not be expected so soon, but to resume the discussion on the article which he had objected to, on my first reading the *pro-*

jet;

jet, and on which they conceived it was poſſible, and even expedient to argue, before we entered upon the more important branches of the negotiation. It was article II. that he referred to. He objected to the renewal of the treaties therein mentioned, from various reaſons; firſt, That many, and even moſt of them were irrelevant to that we were now negotiating; ſecondly, That they were in contradiction to the new order of things eſtabliſhed in France, as they ſeem to imply an acknowledgement, that a portion of the regal authority is ſtill exiſting; thirdly, That they might be ſuppoſed to apply to conventions, and ſtipulations, in direct contradiction to their preſent form of government, and he quoted the convention of Pilnitz in particular. I was about to reply to him, and I truſt in a way that would have done away his apprehenſions on this point, when *another of them* interpoſed by ſaying, That their ſincere and only deſire was, that the treaty we were now entering upon might be ſo framed, as to ſecure permanently the object for which it was intended; that no article likely to produce this end might be omitted, nor any doubtful one inſerted; but that the whole, as well with regard to the paſt as to the future, might be ſo clearly and diſtinctly expreſſed, that no room for cavil might be left. This he aſſured me, in the name of his colleagues, was all that was meant by their objection to renew ſo many treaties, in which ſuch various intereſts were blended, and ſo many points diſcuſſed foreign to the preſent moment. Their renewing them in a lump, and without examining carefully to what we were pledged by them, might involve us in difficulties much better to be avoided. I replied, that I admitted moſt certainly all that he had ſaid, and that it was with this view, and on this principle ſolely, that the renewal of theſe treaties was propoſed by his Majeſty; and that if he recollected (as he undoubtedly did,) the different wars which were terminated by theſe treaties, and the many important regulations ſtipulated by them, he would admit that the allowing them to remain in their full force was ſimply an acknowledgement of the tenure by which almoſt all the Sovereigns of Europe, and particularly the French Republic, held their dominions up to this day. That theſe treaties were become the law of nations, and that infinite confuſion would reſult from their not being renewed.

He replied, that our object was evidently the ſame, that we only differed as to the manner. I thought the renewing theſe treaties, *in toto*, would the beſt contribute to it; while they were inclined to think, that extracting from them every thing which immediately related to the intereſts of the two countries, and ſtating it in one article, was more likely to attain this deſireable object. *The French Miniſter* again repeated, that their firſt wiſh was, that the treaty we were now making ſhould be clear, diſtinct, ſolid, and laſting, and ſuch a one as could not, at any future period, be broken through without a manifeſt violation of good faith. And I again repeated, that nothing could be ſo conſonant to my orders, or the intentions of my Royal Maſter.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries was diſpoſed to dwell on his objections, which were, that theſe treaties were ſigned when France was a monarchy, and that any retroſpect to thoſe times implied a ſort of cenſure on their preſent form of government; but this was arguing on ſuch weak ground, and ſo incapable of being ſeriouſly maintained, that I, to avoid ſuperfluous contradiction, was very willing to let it paſs unnoticed. After a good deal of very conciliatory, and even amicable diſcuſſion, in which, however, neither party gave much to the other, it was propoſed, by them, that we ſhould return home, to meet again as ſoon as was convenient, after an attentive and deliberate peruſal of theſe treaties, in order to ſtate reſpectively our ideas on this ſubject. I obſerved, that although I was perfectly prepared to do it at the moment, and felt almoſt bold enough to affirm, that no meaſure could be deviſed which would ſo completely meet our intentions as an unreſerved renewal of the treaties they heſitated about, yet I was very willing to acquieſce in their propoſal, with this ſimple obſervation, that if any delay aroſe from it, ſuch delay was imputable to them, and not to me. My words were, "Je ne me rends pas reſponſable des Longueurs dans leſquelles cette diſcuſſion pourraie entrainer."—*The French Miniſter's* anſwer was, "Si des Longueurs ſervent à determiner des objets qui pourraient donner lieu à des que-

querelles à l'avenir, ce lerà du tems bien employé." It was not my wish to conteſt this aſſertion, and our conference ended with it.

No 19.—Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, July 16. 1797.

Yeſterday at the moment I was preparing to attend the conference, in which we were to enter into fuller diſcuſſions on the litigated ſubject of the renewal of the treaties, mentioned in the ſecond article of the *projet*, I received from the French Legation the incloſed paper (A). In about an hour I returned the the incloſed anſwer (B), to which I received the incloſed reply (C); and I am this moment come from the conference which has taken place in conſequence of it.

I began by ſaying, that I ſolicited the interview from the ſame motive which would actuate every part of my conduct; that I wiſhed to make my reports not only correct but conciliatory as far as depended on me, and I now was come in order, if poſſible, to obtain from them ſuch comments and explanations on the note they ſent me yeſterday, as would enable me, when I tranſmitted it to my Court, to ſecure the negotiation from being interrupted, perhaps abruptly terminated, by the peruſal of it.—If I underſtood it right, it meant that the Directory requires as *a ſine qua Preliminary*, that every thing the King has conquered from all and each of his enemies ſhould be reſtored, and that till this reſtoration was conſented to, the negotiation was not even to begin. I ſaid, if I was correct in this ſtatement, and the plain ſenſe of the declaration would bear no other interpretation, I muſt add, that it would not only moſt certainly prevent the treaty from beginning, but would leave no room for treating at all, ſince it deprived his Majeſty of every means of negotiation; for I could not ſuppoſe that it was in their thoughts to intimate that the principle of the treaty, as far as it related to his Majeſty, was to be one of all ceſſion and no compenſation, and yet that was preciſely the poſition in which his Majeſty was placed by their note.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries, who had let me proceed rather reluctantly, here ſtopt me, and ſaid, that he and his colleagues were exceedingly happy that I had expreſſed a wiſh to ſee them, before I deſpatched my meſſenger; that they wiſhed to aſſure me, that they had thought it dealing fairly and honourably to ſtate what they had received from the Directory, in the very words in which it came to them: That they ſhould be ſorry if the declaration they had been directed to make me, ſhould be of a nature to interrupt, much leſs to break off, the negotiation; that it was the ſincere wiſh of the Directory, that the negotiation ſhould proceed and end ſucceſsfully; and that, far from ſhutting the door to farther diſcuſſions, they were perfectly ready to hear any propoſals we had to make, and only wiſhed that theſe propoſals ſhould be, if poſſible, ſuch as were compatible with their moſt ſacred engagements. I repeated what I had ſaid, that no door was left open, if his Majeſty was, *in limine*, to reſtore every thing; and that a peace on theſe conditions would not be heard of by the country. I obſerved, that immediately on leaving them, I ſhould diſpatch a meſſenger; but what that meſſenger carried would moſt materially affect the progreſs and iſſue of the negotiation; I therefore deſired to know, whether, in conſequence of what I had heard from them, I might conſider the ſtrict and literal meaning of the declaration, not to be a decided negative (which it certainly ſeemed to imply), on all compenſation whatever to be made to his Majeſty, but that propoſals tending to this effect would ſtill be liſtened to. *One of them anſwered*, "Certainly, and if they ſhould be found ſuch as it will be impoſſible for us to admit, we will, on our ſide, bring forward others for your Court to deliberate on." Under this aſſurance, which, at leaſt, to a certain degree, qualifies the declaration of yeſterday I broke up the conference.

No 20. (A).—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic have tranſmitted to their Government the *projet* of the treaty, and the note relating thereto, which were delivered to them on the 20th of the preſent month, by the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty.

They have juſt received freſh com-

nunications and orders, which require that they ſhould make the following declarations to Lord Malmeſbury.

There exiſt in the public and ſecret treaties, by which the French Republic is bound to its allies, Spain and the Batavian Republic, articles by which the three powers reſpectively guarantee the territories poſſeſſed by each of them before the war.

The French Government, unable to detach itſelf from the engagements which it has contracted by theſe treaties, eſtabliſhes, as an indiſpenſable preliminary of the negotiation for the peace with England, the conſent of his Britannic Majeſty to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which he occupies, not only from the French Republic, but further and formally of thoſe of Spain and the Batavian Republic.

In conſequence, the underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to explain himſelf with regard to this reſtitution, and to conſent to it, if he is ſufficiently authoriſed to do ſo; if not, and in the contrary caſe, to ſend a meſſenger to his Court, in order to procure the neceſſary powers.

The object of the conference which was to have taken place to-day, being neceſſarily delayed by the purport of the above-mentioned declaration, the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the Republic have to expreſs to Lord Malmeſbury, the regret that they feel in loſing this opportunity of converſing together, which they themſelves had ſolicited: But in caſe Lord Malmeſbury ſhould have any communication to make to them, they beg him to believe that they will always be happy to receive him, and to liſten to him whenever he may think it proper.

They requeſt him, at the ſame time, to accept anew the aſſurances of their high conſideration. (Signed)

Liſle, 27 Meſſidor, 5th year of the Republic, (July 15. 1797.) } *Le Tourneur. Pleville le Pelley. Hugues B. Maret. Colchen*, Sec.-Gen. of the Legation.

No 21. (B)—Note from Lord Malmeſbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has given the moſt ſerious attention to the note dated this morning, which he has received from the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

He has no heſitation in declaring to them, that his inſtructions by no means authoriſe him to admit, as a preliminary principle, that which their declaration ſeems intended to eſtabliſh: Nevertheleſs, being perſuaded that it is his firſt duty not to give up the hopes of conciliation until he ſhall have exhauſted every means of obtaining it, and being anxious to avoid, in the report which he ſhall have to make to his Court, the poſſibility of miſunderſtanding on a ſubject of ſuch importance, he propoſes to them a conference for to-morrow, at the hour moſt convenient to them, after which it is his intention to diſpatch a meſſenger to his Court.

He requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

(Signed) *Malmeſbury.*

Liſle, 15th July 1797.

No 22. (C)

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic loſe no time in acceding to the deſire expreſſed by the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, of conferring with them on the ſubject of the note which they addreſſed to him this day.

They have in conſequence the honour of propoſing to him to meet to-morrow morning at 11 o'clock, at the uſual place of conference.

They requeſt him to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) *Le Tourneur.*

Liſle, le 27 Meſſidor, 5th year of Republic, July 15. 1797. } *Pleville. Hugues B. Maret. Colchen*, Sec. Gen. of Legation.

No 23.—Copy of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet, July 20. 1797.

Your Lordſhip's diſpatches by the meſſenger Dreſſings, were received here on the 17th inſt. at night, and I loſt no time in receiving his Majeſty's commands on the very important ſubject of your letter, No 9.

I am much concerned to be under the neceſſity of remarking, that the claim brought forward in the note tranſmitted to your Lordſhip by the French Plenipotentiaries, is in itſelf ſo extravagant, and ſo little to be reconciled either with the

the former profeſſions of thoſe Miniſters, or with their conduct in the previous ſtages of the negotiation, that it affords the ſtrongeſt preſumption of a determination to preclude all means of accommodation. If ſuch is really the determination of the Directory, nothing can remain for this country, but to perſevere in oppoſing, with an energy and ſpirit, proportioned to the exigency, a ſyſtem which muſt tend to perpetuate a ſtate of war and civil tumult in every part of Europe.

The natural ſtep upon the preſent occaſion would therefore have been to direct your Lordſhip to terminate at once a negotiation, which, on the footing now propoſed by the enemy, affords neither the hope nor the means of any favourable concluſion.—Nothing being left for treaty, where, as a preliminary ſtep, one party is required to concede every thing, and all compenſation from the other is abſolutely at once precluded. His Majeſty's ſervants have, however, obſerved that, in the concluſion of your Lordſhip's conference with the French Plenipotentiaries on the ſubject of the note in queſtion, the Preſident of that miſſion informed your Lordſhip, that it was not intended to reſiſt all compenſation for the immenſe extent of reſtitution demanded from his Majeſty, and for the other obvious circumſtances of diſadvantage to this country in the ſituation of Europe, as reſulting from the war; and even added, that he and his colleagues would eventually bring forward propoſals on this head for the deliberation of the King's Government. It appeared poſſible that ſome advantage might perhaps ariſe to the great object of peace, from grounding on this declaration a further proceeding, ſuch as might afford to the Directory (if they are ſo diſpoſed) the means of replacing the negotiation on a more practicable footing. With the view, therefore, of leaving nothing untried which can contribute to reſtore peace on any ſuitable terms, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to direct that your Lordſhip ſhould for that purpoſe aſk another conference with the French Plenipotentiaries. In this conference your Lordſhip will remark, in ſuch terms as the occaſion muſt naturally ſuggeſt to you, upon the indefenſible ſpirit and tendency of the demand now made by France. You will obſerve that France, treating in conjunction with her allies, and in their name, cannot with any pretence of juſtice and fairneſs, oppoſe her treaties with them as an obſtacle in the way of any reaſonable propoſal of peace in which they were not parties, ſuch a plea might perhaps have been urged; but in that caſe France would have been bound to offer, from her own means, that compenſation which ſhe did not think herſelf at liberty to engage to obtain from her allies. And ſuch was, in fact, as your Lordſhip muſt remember, the principle on which his Majeſty offered to treat laſt year, when he was really bound, by engagements to Auſtria, ſimilar to thoſe which are now alleged by France. But it can never be allowed that France, Spain, and Holland, negotiating jointly for a peace with Great Britain, can ſet up, as a bar to our juſt demands, the treaties between themſelves, from which they are at once able to releaſe each other whenever they think fit.

You will further remark, that even if, contrary to all reaſon, ſuch a principle could for a moment have been admitted on our part, ſtill even that principle, inadmiſſible as it is, could only apply to public treaties, known to thoſe who agreed to be governed by them, and not to ſecret articles, unknown even to the French Plenipotentiaries, or concealed by one of them from the knowledge of the others.

You will add in expliciſ, though not offenſive terms, that the whole of this pretence now ſet up by France is inconteſtably frivolous and illuſory; being grounded on a ſuppoſition of a ſtate of things directly contrary to that which is known really to exiſt. It being perfectly notorious that both Spain and Holland, ſo far from wiſhing to continue the war, were compelled by France to engage in it, greatly againſt their own wiſhes, and to undertake, without the means of ſupporting it, a conteſt in which they had nothing to gain, and every thing to loſe. It never therefore can be allowed to be a queſtion of any poſſible doubt, but that the Directory, if they really wiſh it, muſt have obtained, or could at any moment obtain, the conſent of theſe powers to ſuch terms of peace as have been propoſed by his Majeſty. If, however, France, from any motive of intereſt or engagement, is in truth deſirous to procure for them the reſtitution of poſſeſſions which they were unable to defend,

and have no means to reconquer, the project delivered by your Lordſhip afforded an opening for this; thoſe articles have been ſo drawn as to leave it to France to provide a compenſation to his Majeſty, either out of her own colonies, or out of thoſe of her allies, reſpectively conquered by his Majeſty's arms. The choice between theſe alternatives may be left to the Directory; but to refuſe both, is, in other words, to refuſe all compenſation. This is nevertheleſs expreſsly declared not to be the intention of thoſe with whom you treat. It is therefore neceſſary that your Lordſhip ſhould demand from them a ſtatement of the propoſals which, as they informed you, they have to make, in order to do away this apparent contradiction, which the King's ſervants are wholly unable to reconcile by any ſuggeſtion of theirs, even if it were fitting and reaſonable for them to bring forward any new propoſals immediately after the detailed project which was delivered on the part of this country at the outſet of the negotiation.

Since that project is not acceded to, we have evidently, and on every ground, a right to expect a *counter project*, equally full and explicit on the part of the enemy. You will therefore ſtate to the French Miniſters diſtinctly, that the only hope of bringing this buſineſs to a favourable concluſion, is by their ſtating at once plainly, and without reſerve, the whole of what they have to aſk, inſtead of bringing forward ſeparate points, one after the other, not only contrary to the avowed principle of negotiation propoſed by themſelves, but, as it appears, even contrary to the expectation of the Miniſters themſelves who are employed on the part of France. There can be no pretence for refuſing a compliance with this demand, if the Plenipotentiaries of France are diſpoſed to forward the object of peace: And the obtaining ſuch a ſtatement from them is, as I have before ſtated to your Lordſhip, a point of ſo much importance, in any courſe which this negotiation may take, that it is the King's pleaſure that your Lordſhip ſhould endeavour to prevent their eluding ſo juſt a demand.

After what has paſſed, it is, I fear very doubtful whether ſuch a *counter-project* would be framed on principles ſuch as could be admitted here; but it would at all events place the buſineſs on its real iſſue, and bring diſtinctly into queſtion the ſeveral points on which the concluſion of peace, or the prolongation of war, will really depend.

(Signed) *Grenville.*

No. 24.—Copy of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet, July 20. 1797.

My Lord, There are two ſeparate points on which it is neceſſary for me to ſay a few words to your Lordſhip, in addition to the inſtructions in my other diſpatch on the general ſubject of the negotiation.

The firſt relates to the aſſertion of one of the French Miniſters, that the Portugueſe ſhips and troops were at Toulon. The fact is very immaterial as to any concluſion that could be drawn from it, to affect the ſituation or juſt claims of the Court of Liſbon; becauſe your Lordſhip well knows, that it is a principle univerſally recognized in the public law of Europe, that when one of the parties, in a defenſive alliance, furniſhes to his ally the ſtipulated ſuccours, thoſe ſuccours remain entirely at the diſpoſal of the requiring party, to be employed wherever he ſhall judge proper, ſubject only to the limitations of the treaty which before exiſted; and if the amount of thoſe ſuccours is not encreaſed beyond that engaged for, nor the means of uſing them extended by new facilities, the party furniſhing the ſtipulated aſſiſtance is not underſtood to violate the laws of neutrality.

But the fact, in this caſe, would not bear out the aſſertion, even if the argument to be drawn from it were more concluſive. The troops of her Moſt Faithful Majeſty having been, as I apprehend, no otherwiſe employed than in the two campaigns carried on by land upon the ſouthern part of the frontiers of France and Spain.

The other point relates to what was ſaid to your Lordſhip about the treaty of Pilnitz. It would certainly not require much argument to prove that the renewal of ſeveral treaties enumerated by name and date, and the lateſt of which was concluded in 1783, does not imply a renewal of another treaty ſuppoſed to be concluded in 1791. But what is more material to the preſent caſe is, that your Lordſhip ſhould take this opportunity to explain, in the moſt diſtinct and unequivocal terms, that if any ſecret treaty was in fact concluded at the

the interview at Pilnitz, between the late Emperor and the King of Pruſſia, (which is, to ſay the leaſt, very doubtful in point of fact), this at leaſt is certain, that his Majeſty was no party to ſuch a treaty; and not only was not then included in it, but has never ſince adhered to it, nor even been apprized of its contents. The public declaration which was made at that interview, ſhews on the face of it that his Majeſty was no party to it; and it is indeed notorious that it applied to circumſtances which were done away long before the war broke out between Auſtria and France, and that the ſubſequent negotiations for the maintainance of peace between thoſe powers turned on points wholly diſtinct from thoſe ſuppoſed to have been referred to in the pretended treaty of Pilnitz.

This explanation, however little connected with the preſent negotiation, ſeems to be called for by the alluſion made to you upon the ſubject; and, indeed, on a point on which ſo much miſrepreſentation has prevailed, it is uſeful not to omit the opportunity of ſtating the facts as the really are.

(Signed) *Grenville.*

No. 25.—Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 25th July 1797.

My Lord, I have the honour to acknowledge your Lordſhip's diſpatches, No 19. and 20. of the 20th inſt. which were delivered to me on Saturday the 22d inſt. by the meſſenger Major.

It was impoſſible that the claim brought forward in the note incloſed in my No 9, could have produced on your Lordſhip's mind any impreſſion different from that which you deſcribe, and I am happy to find that the conduct I obſerved, when it was firſt delivered to me, was ſuch as put it in my power to execute with great conſiſtency the ſpirited inſtructions your Lordſhip now ſends me.

Immediately on the arrival of the meſſenger I propoſed an interview with the French Plenipotentiaries, and we met on Sunday the 23d, at one P. M.

I could not obey his Majeſty's orders in a manner more likely to command attention, and to impreſs thoſe who heard me with a juſt ſenſe of the mixture of firmneſs and moderation with which his Majeſty was pleaſed to conduct this important negotiation, than by employing not only the ſubſtance, but as far as was practicable in converſation, the very words of your Lordſhip's diſpatch, No 19; and if I ſhould attempt to relate minutely what I myſelf ſaid in this conference, it would in fact be little more than a repetition of them.

I began by obſerving, that I was certain the French Plenipotentiaries muſt be fully prepared for what I now had it in command to ſay: I reminded them that I had taken upon me to affirm when we were laſt aſſembled, and immediately before I diſpatched my meſſenger, that the requiring ſuch a preliminary as that propoſed in the note, was putting an end at once to all negotiation, and that I was ſure peace on ſuch terms would not be heard of; that the orders I was then about to communicate to them would prove that I had not made this aſſertion lightly, or in conſequence of any haſty opinion of my own, at the ſame time that it would alſo appear that my Royal Maſter was as anxiouſly and as ſincerely inclined to liſten to all reaſonable and admiſſible conditions, as he was determined to repel and reject all ſuch as were of an oppoſite deſcription. I then, my Lord, took up my arguments on the preciſe grounds ſet forth in your Lordſhip's No 19, I neither omitted any thing, nor inſerted any thing of my own, which could at all alter its ſpirit; and I only varied from the letter inaſmuch as was neceſſary to make it applicable to a conference.

My firſt object was to ſtate, in as forcible a way as poſſible, the utter inadmiſſibility of the pretenſion ſet forth in the note, the frivolous and illuſory reaſons alledged for bringing it forward, and I obſerved, that if it was perſevered in, it muſt lead to this neceſſary concluſion, that there did exiſt, when it was framed, an intention on the part of the Directory to break off the negotiation in the outſet. My ſecond object, in point of reaſoning, though a very primary one in point of importance, was either to prevent the negotiation breaking off at all, or if this was not to be prevented, to endeavour to be ſo clear and explicit in my language, and to draw the line ſo diſtinctly between ſuch ſacrifices as his Majeſty might be inclined to make in order to reſtore ſo great a bleſſing as peace, and thoſe to which the dignity of his crown, and intereſts of his ſubjects, would never allow him to attend, as to make it impoſſible that by any fu-

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ture cavil or ſubterfuge the interruption of the treaty, if unfortunately it ſhould be interrupted, could be imputed to any other cauſe than the exorbitant demands of the French Government; and the better to inſure this purpoſe, I explained to them that his Majeſty having already, in a detailed project, ſtated freely and fully his conditions, and theſe conditions having been at once rejected by a ſweeping claim on the part of the French Government, it was not fitting nor reaſonable, neither could it be expected, that any new propoſals ſhould originate with his Majeſty; and that, on every ground, the King had a right to expect a *contre-projet* from them, ſtating at once, plainly and without reſerve, the whole of what they had to aſk, inſtead of bringing forward ſeparate points, one after another, directly contrary to the principle on which we had agreed to begin the negotiation, and which, from their being inſulated, could only tend to protract and impede its progreſs.

On the firſt point, on the inadmiſſibility of the preliminary conditions as propoſed by the French Government, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* ſaid, it was impoſſible for them to do more than to take it for reference; that the inſtructions they had received when the Directory ſent them the note, were preciſe and poſitive, and that they had received none ſince. He therefore had on that point ſimply to requeſt of me, that I would ſtate in writing the ſeveral grounds on which his Majeſty rejected this propoſition, in order that the report tranſmitted by them to the Directory might be correct; and he aſſured me, that if I did not think it proper to put in writing all the arguments I had uſed to them in the conference, they would have no ſcruple of employing thoſe I omitted in ſuch a way as was the beſt calculated to give them weight, and, to uſe *the French Miniſter's* own expreſſion, to place the negotiation once more on its legs.

In regard to the ſecond point, he had no heſitation in agreeing with me, that the beſt method, and indeed the only one, which could accelerate the whole of the buſineſs, was for them to give in a *contre projet*, neither did he attempt to diſprove our perfect right to expect one from them before we made any new propoſals. But he ſaid, that it was not neceſſary for him to obſerve that, as long as they were bound by their inſtructions not to give way on the propoſition I had now ſo decidedly rejected, that it was impoſſible for them to move a ſtep without new orders from the Directory; that they would aſk for theſe orders immediately, and loſe no time in acquainting me when they were received.

I obſerved, that in our laſt conference he had intimated to me they were empowered to come to ſome explanation with me on the ſubject of compenſation to be made to his Majeſty for the great ceſſions he was diſpoſed to make; that, at the time, I conceived theſe explanations were of a nature to qualify the wide claim ſtated in the note, and that if I had abſtained from preſſing him further at the moment, it was from perceiving a reluctance on their part to bring them forward:—That, however, if they really had ſuch propoſals to make me, and if they were of a nature to meet, in ſubſtance and effect, the baſis laid down in the project I had given in, I ſhould be well diſpoſed to liſten to them.

One of the French Miniſters, after ſome heſitation, and a ſort of ſilent reference to one of his colleagues, ſaid he thought, as matters now ſtood, it would be much better to wait their anſwer from Paris:—That it was a very important period, a criſis in the negotiation, the reſult of which probably would be concluſive as to its fate, and that it ſeemed to be of more conſequence to make this reſult as conformable to what he hoped I was convinced were as much their wiſhes as mine, than to waſte our time in diſcuſſions which were uſeleſs, not to ſay more, till this was aſcertained.

I confined myſelf in my reply to ſaying, I had no objection whatever to giving the French Plenipotentiaries a paper, ſtating the ſtrong motives on which his Majeſty rejected the propoſition made in their note of the 15th; and that as I, on my part, had conſidered it a duty to make my reports as conciliatory as was conſiſtent with truth and correctneſs, ſo I heard with great pleaſure the aſſurances he gave me of their intending to obſerve the ſame line of conduct.

That as we ſeemed perfectly agreed as to the propriety of their producing a *contre projet*, I had nothing to ſay on that point, except to expreſs my moſt ſincere wiſh that it would ſoon appear, and when it did appear, to be ſuch a one as would lead to a ſpeedy and ſatisfactory concluſion of the negotiation.

No 26.—Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has transmitted to his Court the note which was delivered to him the 15th of this month, by the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic; and having received the orders of the King his master on this subject, he hastens to repeat to them, in writing, conformably to the desire which they have expressed to him, the following reflections, which he had already stated to them verbally, in consequence of his most positive instructions:

He observes, in the first place, that to require, "As an indispensable preliminary of negotiation for peace with England, the consent of his Britannic Majesty to the formal restitution of all the possessions which he occupies, as well those of the French Republic, as further and formally those of Spain and the Batavian Republic," is to wish to establish a previous condition, which excludes all reciprocity, refuses to the King all compensation, and leaves no object of ulterior negotiation.

That the French Republic, formally authorized by its allies to negotiate the articles of peace in their name, cannot fairly set up its partial treaties with them, in opposition to reasonable proposals of peace, since it is universally understood, that the contracting parties always preserve the power to modify, by mutual consent, the conditions by which they may be engaged to each other, whenever their common interests may require it:—Consequently, the proposition made to the King, of a general and gratuitous restitution as an indispensable preliminary, would necessarily impute to his Catholic Majesty, and to the Batavian Republic, dispositions far less pacific than those which animate the French Republic.

That, moreover, in consequence of what passed in the first conferences, Lord Malmesbury has always thought himself entitled to expect that the King his master would find a compensation for the sacrifices he was ready to make for peace, by retaining a part of his conquests; and he was the less able to foresee any obstacle, on account of the secret articles of the treaties which bind the French Republic, as the principle of compensation was acknowledged by a formal and positive declaration, made in the name of the Executive Directory, and communicated in an official note, dated the 27th of November 1796; a declaration posterior to the completion of those treaties.

It was, therefore, in order to remove, as much as possible, every difficulty that, in the project of a treaty, which Lord Malmesbury has delivered to the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, the alternative was left to France to settle this compensation on its own possessions, or on those of its allies: But the absolute refusal of this alternative appears to do away the only possible means of conciliating every interest, and of arriving at an honourable, just, and permanent peace.

Lord Malmesbury, persuaded that such cannot be the intention of the French Government, hopes, that in consequence of the reasons herein stated, a condition will not be insisted upon, to which his Britannic Majesty can by no means consent.

He again requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurances of his high consideration. (Signed) *Malmesbury.*

Lisle, 24th July 1797.

No 27.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sunday, August 6. 1797.

My Lord, I fully expected, when I received the inclosed note on Friday, the conference proposed was to acquaint me with the instructions the French Plenipotentiaries had received from the Directory, on the note I had given in near a fortnight ago, as an answer to that in which the restitution of the whole of his Majesty's conquests from each of his enemies is required as an indispensable preliminary to all negotiation.

I was therefore surprised and disappointed, when I had taken my place at the conference, to hear from the French Plenipotentiaries, that the letters they had received that morning from Paris, did not bring any specific reply to my last note, but only went to inform them that the Directory had taken the subject into their most serious consideration, and would acquaint them as soon as possible with the result.

I could not avoid expressing my concern and surprise that their existed any hesitation whatever in the mind of the Directory on a point which, although a very

very important, was certainly a very ſimple one: That to allow it to remain in doubt whether his Majeſty was to have any compenſation or not, was in other words to leave it in doubt whether the Directory ſincerely meant peace or not? And that, although I was very far from wiſhing for any improper haſte, or not to move in a matter of ſuch magnitude with becoming prudence and deliberation, yet I could not forbear lamenting that more than a month had now elapſed without our having advanced a ſingle ſtep, notwithſtanding his Majeſty had, in the very outſet of the negotiation, manifeſted a moderation and forbearance unprecedented under ſimilar circumſtances:—That, anxious as I was not to prejudice it by any repreſentations of mine, I muſt ſay, this delay placed me in a very awkward poſition, as I really did not perceive how I could account for it in a way at all ſatisfactory, at the ſame time that it was quite impoſſible for me to ſuffer a longer ſpace of time to paſs over without writing to my Court.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries expreſſed his earneſt wiſh that I would write immediately; he was confident this delay would be ſeen in its true light; and added, "Si nous n'avancons pas à pas de Géant j'eſpere que nous marchons d'un pas ſur."—And another of them repeated this phraſe.

I expreſſed my ſincere hope this might be the caſe, but it would have been much better proved by the communication of the counter project they had in a manner pledged themſelves to procure, than by any vague and indeterminate aſſurances of what might poſſibly be the reſult of the preſent ſuſpenſion of all buſineſs. They obſerved to me, that the counter project would of courſe be (virtually) contained in their next inſtructions, and that their only motive for wiſhing to ſee me was, to convince me that this delay had neither originated with them, nor been occaſioned at Paris by any want of attention to this important buſineſs, or from any cauſe not immediately and cloſely connected with it.

I deſired to know from them when they thought it probable they ſhould receive poſitive and explicit inſtructions, whether in three, four, or five days? They ſaid it would be probably eight or ten. And *one of them* obſerved, that as our not meeting more frequently gave riſe to many idle rumours and falſe reports, he would propoſe to me, if I had no objection, to meet every other day at two o'clock: That it was very poſſible that in our next two or three meetings we might have nothing material to ſay, but that we ſhould get better acquainted with each other, and in our converſations mutually ſuggeſt ideas which might be of uſe—I readily conſented to this.

I had a conference again this morning. As I was very deſirous of being enabled to tranſmit to your Lordſhip ſome more ſatisfactory account as to the motives of this delay, I again preſſed the French Plenipotentiaries on this point. They each of them repeated what they had ſaid before, and on my endeavouring to make them feel how impoſſible it was that his Majeſty ſhould not be hurt at this demur on ſo very ſimple a point, *one of them ſaid*, You ought to augur favourably from it; your note was a refuſal to agree to what was ſtated by the Directory in their inſtructions to us as a *ſine qua non*: If the Directory were determined to perſiſt in this *ſine qua non*, they would have ſaid ſo at once—"Je vous aſſure qu'il nous auroit promptement renvoyé le courier," were his words. The time they take to deliberate indicates beyond a doubt, that they are looking for ſome temperament, and it ſcarce can be doubted that one will be found.—I ſaid I was well pleaſed to hear him ſay this; but that ſtill he muſt be aware it would not be an eaſy taſk for me to make my diſpatches to-day either intereſting or ſatisfactory.

Another of the French Miniſters ſaid, that he really believed that this would be the only great impediment we ſhould have to encounter, that every thing would go on quickly and ſmoothly, and that I muſt admit the preſent to be a very important and difficult point in the negotiation. I agreed with him entirely as to its importance, but could not acquieſce as to its difficulty.

I am very ſorry, my Lord, that in ſuch a moment, and after waiting ſo long, I ſhould not be able to ſend you more explicit and deciſive aſſurances; but it is not in my power to compel the French negotiators to move on faſter. All I can do is, by my conduct and language, to take care that no part whatever of the imputation of delay ſhould attach to me. I have, at every conference I have held,

always

always declared my readineſs to proceed, and I ſhall not fail to repeat this every time we meet.

No 28.—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmeſbury.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic will be happy to have an opportunity of converſing for a few minutes with Lord Malmeſbury; and they have in conſequence the honour of propoſing to him to meet them at two o'clock to day, or any other hour which may be more convenient for him, and which he will have the goodneſs to appoint.

They renew, with pleaſure, to Lord Malmeſbury, the aſſurances of their high conſideration. (Signed)

Lille, 17 Thermidor, 5th year of the Republic, Auguſt 4. 1797. } *Le Tourneur.* *Hugues B. Maret.* *Colchen*, Sec. Gen. of the Legation of the Republic.

No 29.—Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, Auguſt 14. 1797.

In conſequence of the reſolution we had come to, to meet on the days of the arrival of the poſt from Paris, our conferences for this laſt week have taken place regularly every other morning, except on Thurſday the 10th of Auguſt, which being the anniverſary of one of the national feſtivals, the French legation could not attend.

I have in mine, No 17, given your Lordſhip an account of every thing which paſſed in theſe conferences, up to that of the 6th. On the 8th, nothing was ſaid at all worth tranſmitting, except an intimation flung out by *one of the French Plenipotentiaries*, that it would be neceſſary to take into conſideration the rights of neutral nations on this occaſion. But as he ſpoke very vaguely, and in general terms, I did not chuſe to preſs him for an explanation, as I conſider it more judicious to avoid diſcuſſions on ſeparate and collateral points, and not to enter into negotiation till all the propoſals came under deliberation at once.

What paſſed on the 12th was rather more intereſting. The return of Mr Weſley afforded me a very natural opportunity of expreſſing the impatience with which an anſwer to my laſt note was expected by my Court; that three weeks had now elapſed ſince its tranſmiſſion, and that although I by no means wiſhed to inſinuate that due attention had not been paid to ſo very important a ſubject as that on which we were treating, yet I could not but greatly lament, that day after day ſhould be allowed to paſs away, without our proceeding at all in the great buſineſs for which we were met. *One of the French Miniſters* ſaid, that it was impoſſible to lament this delay more than they did; that they had already declared to me that it was occaſioned by a wiſh not to create but to remove difficulties; and they could aſſure me poſitively, that the French Government had no other object in view, and that I ſhould find, when once begun fairly to negotiate, we ſhould proceed very rapidly.

I replied, it was indeed very material to make good the time we had loſt. *The French Miniſter* anſwered, you would not call it time loſt if you knew how it was employed. On my expreſſing, by my manner, a wiſh to be informed, he went on, by ſaying, we will not ſcruple to tell you, though we feel we ought not yet to do it officially, that we are conſulting with our allies; that we have communicated to them all that has paſſed here; we have ſtated that, unleſs they mean to continue the war, they muſt releaſe us from our engagements, and enable us, to a certain degree, to meet your propoſals.

The conference of to-day is this moment over. *One of the French Plenipotentiaries* informed me, that he had received this morning a letter from the Preſident of the Directory, aſſuring him that in four or five days they would receive their final inſtructions; and he added of himſelf, that he truſted theſe would be ſuch as would enable us to continue our work without any further interruption. I ſaid, I hoped theſe inſtructions would be in ſubſtance a counter-project, as I did not ſee how any thing ſhort of one could enable us to proceed ſo rapidly as he deſcribed. He agreed with me entirely, and aſſured me, that both he and his colleagues had repeatedly ſtated the neceſſity of a counter-project being ſent them; and he obſerved, that he really thought the French Government might have foreſeen every thing which had paſſed, and been prepared with one; and that this would have ſaved a great deal of valuable time. As I could not myſelf have ſaid more, I readily gave a full aſſent to what I heard.

No 30.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmesbury, dated Downing-street, Aug. 19. 1797.

An expression mentioned in one of your Lordship's last dispatches to have fallen from one of the French Plenipotentiaries, leads to the presumption that it is intended, on the part of France, to bring forward some proposal about the navigation of neutral powers in time of war. Your Lordship will best judge of the proper opportunity of expressing his Majesty's decided and unalterable resolution on this point, not to admit of any proposals for treating with his enemies on the subject of the rights or claims of neutral powers.

The only other remark with which I have to trouble your Lordship, by this messenger, relates to an expression in the late message of the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, which, if literally taken, conveys an accusation against his Majesty's Government, that some delay has arisen on the part of this country in the negotiations at Lisle. This is so avowedly contrary to the fact, that it must be considered as impossible that such a charge could be intended to be made by a Government which had at that moment delayed for three weeks making any answer to his Majesty's distinct and liberal proposals for peace, and whose Plenipotentiaries were daily apologizing to your Lordship for this unbecoming, and, as they almost confess, unaccountable delay; but as the point is too important to be left unnoticed, it is the King's pleasure that your Lordship should present a note, remarking upon the sense to which these words are liable, expressing your persuasion that such cannot be the intention with which they were used, but asking on the part of your Court an explanation to that effect, which cannot be refused without a violation of every thing which truth and justice require on such an occasion.

No 31.—Extract from the message of the French Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, Aug. 9. 1797.

In short this cause is in the same despondency in which all good Citizens, and particularly the defenders of their country, are, at seeing deferred, at the very moment when its conclusion was thought to be near at hand, and after having bought it with so much blood and so much suffering—a definitive peace, which the heads of the vanquished coalition at length solicited in good earnest; when its conclusion was expected, and which a Government, all of a sudden, buoyed up with new hopes, reckoning upon a general dissolution of the Government by the falling of its finances, upon its destruction, upon the death or banishment of its bravest Generals, and upon the dispersion and loss of its armies, these very same coalesced powers have thrown as much delay into the negotiations, as they had shewn anxiety to bring them to an end.

No 32.—Copy of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Aug. 22. 1797.

In my conference of this morning, I took an opportunity of remarking to the French Plenipotentiaries, on the very unfair and extraordinary assertion which had appeared in the message of the 9th inst. from the Directory to the Council of Five Hundred, viz. "Que les puissances coalisées ont mis autant de lenteur dant les negotiations, qu'elles avoient montré de l'ardeur pour les terminer." I observed to them, that I had orders from my Court to ask a precise explanation, whether this accusation of delay was meant to apply to the manner in which his Majesty had conducted the negotiation at Lisle; and if it was so meant, to declare that no accusation was ever more destitute of foundation, nor a wider deviation from the real fact. I said I was perfectly ready to abide by their determination on this point, convinced that it was impossible for them not to acknowledge that the delay (if there had been any blameable delay) rested with the French Government, and not with his Majesty. The French Plenipotentiaries admitted this to be most strictly true; that the phrase I had quoted was an ill-judged one, and *mal-rédigée*; but that it could not in any point of view whatever be construed as applying to England, and they were ready to say, that when it was written, the Directory alluded solely to the Court of Vienna; that they could assure me they had been very faithful in their reports, and when they said this, it was saying in other words that I had carried on the negotiation with as much expedition as possible, and that if it had proceeded slowly for this last month, the slowness arose on their side, and not on mine.

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I said I could not for an instant call in question their feelings on this point: It was necessary for me to clear up, and to know whether the Directory thought and felt as they did. *One of the French Ministers*, with very strong expressions, assured me the Directory certainly did think and feel like them; that no unfair and insidious allusion was meant, and added, "Que ce message etoit fait pour stimuler les conseils." I went on by observing it was very essential for me to have this fully explained, and that I should give them in a note to this effect: They requested I would not; it would lead to disagreeable discussions, and would not answer the end I proposed. They would take upon themselves *now* to assure me, in the name of the Directory, that nothing at all similar to the construction I put on the phrase was intended, and that as soon as they could receive an answer to the report they should make of to-day's conversation, they would say the same from the Directory itself.

I hope, my Lord, I have, therefore, by obtaining this very precise and formal disavowal of an intention to fix any imputation of delay on his Majesty's Government, fulfilled the object of my instructions on this particular point. If when the French Plenipotentiaries speak from the Directory the disavowal should not be equally satisfactory and complete, I then will not fail, according to your Lordship's order, to give in a note. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *Malmesbury.*

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

No 53.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, Aug. 22. 1797.

The four conferences I have held with the French Plenipotentiaries, since I last wrote to your Lordship on the 14th inst. will not, I fear, furnish very interesting materials for a dispatch.

Our conference of this morning was principally employed in what I have related in my other dispatch; but the French Plenipotentiaries assured me, that by Thursday, or at the latest by Saturday, they expected to receive their long expected messenger.

No 54.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, Aug. 29. 1797.

I am extremely sorry to be forced to announce to your Lordship, that fresh delays occur in the progress of the negotiation.

The French Plenipotentiaries informed me at our conference yesterday, that the last answer from Holland was so unsatisfactory that the Directory had ordered the Minister for Foreign Affairs to return it to the Dutch Ministers at Paris; that the Dutch Ministers could not take upon themselves to alter it in the way the Directory proposed, but had been obliged to refer to their Government for new orders; and that therefore, supposing no time to be lost in deliberation on this subject at the Hague, it would be at least a week from to-day before any farther account could be received here.

After lamenting this unexpected procrastination of our business, I expressed a wish to know what the Dutch answer had been, what objections the Directory had made to it, and the alteration they were desirous it should undergo.

One of the French Plenipotentiaries said, it had not been communicated to them, but that he understood it was *complexe louche et peu satisfaisante.*—That the Directory expected it would be clear and distinct, and such an one as would enable them to send such instructions here, as would allow us to go on with the negotiation in a way to recover the time we had lost.

No 55.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lille, Sept. 5. 1797.

I should have considered what has passed in our conferences, since I last had the honour of writing to your Lordship by Mr Wesley, as in itself too unimportant to authorise me to dispatch a messenger, but that in general I think it my duty never to leave your Lordship more than a week without hearing from me; and I was also glad of an opportunity to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's dispatch, No 23, which was delivered to me by the messenger Shaw on the 31st August, at 10 P. M.

Nothing but common conversation passed in our conferences of the 30th August and of the 1st September. In that of the 3d the French Plenipotentiaries confirmed what they had taken upon themselves to assure me on the 22d August, in consequence of the representation I had your Lordship's orders to make on the expressions employed by the

Directory in their meſſage of the 9th Auguſt to the Councils, and which expreſſions appeared to fix an imputation of delay on his Majeſty's Government in the progreſs of the negotiation. They ſaid that they had reported to the Directory what I obſerved on this ſubject, and that they were now charged to repeat what I had already heard from them, and to declare that no intention ſimilar to that I ſuppoſed ever exiſted on the part of the Directory.

In our conference of this morning, although I had reaſon to expect that the anſwer from the Hague was arrived at Paris, yet it was not admitted by the French Plenipotetiaries.

No 36.—Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, 9th Sept. 1797.

I need not ſay that the two conferences which have been held ſince I diſpatched the meſſenger (Brooks) were not likely, under the preſent circumſtances of this country, to afford any thing extremely important or intereſting.

In that of Thurſday the 7th, *one of the French Plenipotentiaries* began, on my entering the room, by announcing a wiſh that the great event which had taken place at Paris ſhould not interrupt for a long time our negotiation, or deſtroy the pleaſing proſpect we had of its ſoon terminating ſucceſsfully; and from his manner I clearly ſaw he meant to convey the idea that it was his opinion it would not. I endeavoured to diſcover whether he ſpoke in conſequence of any private intelligence he had received from Paris, or ſimply from his own private judgment; and I found it was entirely from the latter.

In our conference of this morning, he ſaid they were ſtill without any letters from M. Talleyrand (which rather ſurpriſed him): but he could aſſure me *with certainty*, that by Monday they ſhould be empowered to go on with the negotiation, and that I might ſay to my Court.

No 37.—Extract of a diſpatch from Lord Grenville to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet.

Your Lordſhip's diſpatches by the meſſenger, Shaw, were received here this morning.

It would be premature, in the preſent moment, to enter into any reaſoning on the effect which the extraordinary events at Paris may be expected to have on the important negotiation with which your Lordſhip is charged. A very few days muſt now probably ſhew, in the moſt unequivocal manner, what are the views which are entertained by the now predominant party at Paris, reſpecting the queſtion of peace or war with Great Britain: And it becomes his Majeſty's Government to wait the event with the ſame deſire for accomodation on reaſonable terms, and the ſame firmneſs with reſpect to undue and inſulting demands, which has actuated every part of the conduct held by your Lordſhip.

No 38.—Copy of a diſpatch from Lord Malmeſbury to Lord Grenville, dated Liſle, Monday, Sept. 11. 1797.

My Lord, On my going to the conference this morning, the French Plenipotentiaries informed me that the whole French Legation was recalled, and that Meſſ. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Alco were appointed in their room. They ſaid, their orders were to communicate this event to me immediately, and at the ſame time to add, in the name of the French Government, that this alteration, in the choice of the negotiators, would not produce any change whatever in the diſpoſition of the Directory to bring the negotiation to a happy iſſue.

I aſſured them I was extremely ſorry to here that they were recalled. That we had hitherto acted together ſo cordially, that it was to be lamented any circumſtances had ariſen which made the French Government think it adviſeable to put the negotiation into other hands.

That I received with ſatisfaction what they told me as to the ſentiments manifeſted by the Directory, relative to the negotiation, and that I could aſſure them, they were ſuch as certainly exiſted in the breaſt of my royal maſter.

I then ſuggeſted to them, whether it would not be proper to give me an official note on this occaſion, ſince it made a very marked period in the negotiation; and as they perfectly agreed with me on the propriety of this, they ſent me that I now encloſe.

I conſider this event as ſo material, that I do not loſe a moment in diſpatching one of my ſervants to England, as I have at preſent no meſſenger with me. I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) *Malmeſbury.*

No

No 39.—Note from the French Plenipotentiaries to Lord Malmesbury.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have the honour to inform Lord Malmesbury, that they have received by this day's post a decree of the Executive Directory, signifying their recall, and the nomination of Citizens Treilhard and Bonnier to succeed them, and to continue the negotiations entered upon with England.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, in sending to the undersigned Minister Plenipotentiary this decree of the Directory, of the 22d of this month, orders them to wait the arrival of their successors. It also directs them to inform the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, that the change of the negotiators does not carry with it any change in the disposition of the Directory with regard to the negotiation.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have the honour to renew to Lord Malmesbury the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed)

Lisle, 5th Fructidor 5th year of the Republic, Sept. 11. 1797. *Le Tourneur. Hugues B. Maret. Colchen*, Sec. Gen. of the Legation.

No 40.—Note from Lord Malmesbury to the French Plenipotentiaries.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have addressed to him, communicating the decree of the Executive Directory, which signifies their recall, and the nomination of the Ministers destined to succeed them, and to continue the negotiation already commenced. He receives, at the same time, with satisfaction, and will transmit without delay to his Court, the assurance that this change of the negotiators does not bring with it any change in the disposition of the Directory as to the negotiation.

Lord Malmesbury, in thanking the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic for this communication, begs them to be persuaded of his personal regret on account of their departure, and to accept the assurances of his high consideration.

(Signed)

Malmesbury.

Lisle, Sept. 12. 1797.

No 41.—Extract of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sept. 17. 1797.

My Lord, The new French Plenipotentiaries, Messr. Treilhard and Bonnier d'Arco, with their principal Secretary, M. Derche, and two private Secretaries, arrived here at five o'clock A. M. on Wednesday the 13th instant: At eleven A. M. they sent M. Derche to acquaint me with their arrival, and to inquire at what hour I would receive their visit? In consequence of my saying whenever it was convenient, they came immediately, attended by Messr. Le Tourneur, Maret, and Colchen.

On taking leave, M. Le Tourneur came forward and said to me, in his name and that of his colleagues, that they could not terminate their mission, without expressing the satisfaction they had felt from the openness and candour (loyauté et franchise) with which I had acted during the whole of the negotiation, or take leave of me without expressing their sincere personal regrets;—that the recollection of my conduct would always be agreeable to them, and that it had given me the strongest title to their esteem and good wishes.

After giving the new Plenipotentiaries as much time as was necessary to return to their own house, I sent Mr Ross to ask at what hour I might return their visit; and, in consequence of their answer, I went to them, attended by Lord Morpeth and Mr Ellis.

I took an opportunity of returning the compliment M. Le Tourneur had made me; and I must, in justice repeat, my Lord, what I have already said, that his conduct, and that of his colleagues has, in every point which has depended on them, been perfectly fair and honourable, and, in no instance, contrary to the principles they announced, and the professions they made. It is therefore impossible for me not to regret them, and not to consider the change of negotiators at least as a very unpleasant, if not a very unfortunate incident.

No 42.—Copy of a dispatch from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Grenville, dated Lisle, Sept. 17. 1797.

I shall endeavour in this dispatch to give your Lordship as circumstantial an account as my memory will allow me to do, of what has passed in the two conferences

ferences I have held with the new French Plenipotentiaries.

In that of Friday the 14th, after communicating to me the arret of the Directory, appointing them to succeed Meſſieurs le Tourneur and Miret, and and empowering them to continue the negotiation with me, *one of them* began by making the ſtrongeſt aſſurances of the ſincere deſire entertained by the Directory for peace. He obſerved, that if this deſire had manifeſted itſelf ſo ſtrongly at a moment when the two great authorities of the country were at variance, it muſt naturally become ſtronger, and be exerted with more effect when all ſpirit of diviſion was ſuppreſſed, and when the Government was ſtrengthened by the perfect concord which now reigns between all its branches: That the firſt and moſt material point to be aſcertained, in every negotiation, was the extent of the full powers with which the negotiators are veſted; that I ſhould find theirs to be very ample; and that, as it was neceſſary to the ſucceſs of our diſcuſſions that mine ſhould be equally ſo, they had it in command to preſent a note, the object of which was to enquire, whither I was authorized to treat upon the principle of a general reſtitution of every poſſeſſion remaining in his Majeſty's hands, not only belonging to them, but to their allies; that I was not unacquainted with their laws and with their treaties; that a great country could not on any occaſion act in contradiction to them; and that, aware as I muſt be of this, I could not but expect the queſtion contained in the note, neither could I conſider the requiſition of an explicit anſwer, previous to entering upon the negotiation, as ariſing from any other motive than that of the moſt perfect wiſh, on the part of the Directory, to bring it to a ſucceſsful, and, above all, to a ſpeedy concluſion.

I replied, that if after what I heard I could allow myſelf to hope for ſuch an event as he ſeemed to think probable, or give any credit to the pacific diſpoſitions he announced on the part of the French Government, ſuch hope muſt ariſe ſolely from the confidence I might place in his aſſurances; ſince the meaſure itſelf now adopted by the Directory was certainly calculated to make a directly contrary impreſſion on my mind; that I could not conceal from him, that far from expecting ſuch a queſtion, its being now put ſurpriſed me beyond meaſure, and ſtill more ſo, when, from his comment upon it, I was to infer, that he wiſhed me to conſider it as tending to promote a ſpeedy pacification; that the queſtion expreſſed in the note he had delivered (for he had given it to me, and I had read it over as he ended his ſpeech,) was word for word the ſame as that put to me by his predeceſſors ſo long ago as the 14th July; that on the 15th I had, from my own authority, given an anſwer, and that this anſwer I confirmed fully and diſtinctly by order of my Court on the 24th July; that theſe notes had to the preſent hour remained unnoticed, and a delay of two months had occurred; that the reaſons aſſigned for this delay were, as I was repeatedly told, a decided reſolution on the part of the French Government to liſten to the reaſonable propoſals made by his Majeſty; but that being bound by their engagements with the Court of Madrid and the Batavian Republic, and wiſhing to treat their allies with due conſideration, they were deſirous of conſulting with them previous to any poſitive declaration, and obtaining from them a voluntary releaſe from thoſe engagements, ſufficient to enable the French Plenipotentiaries here to admit the baſis his Majeſty had eſtabliſhed, and to ground on it all future diſcuſſions which might ariſe in the courſe of the negotiation; that if he read over the papers left, undoubtedly, in his poſſeſſion by his predeceſſors, he would find what I ſtated to be ſtrictly true; and that of courſe it could not be difficult to account for my ſurpriſe, when, after being told that he and his colleague were to take up the negotiation preciſely where they found it, it now became evident that it was to be flung back to the very point from which we ſtarted, and flung back in a way which ſeemed to threaten a concluſion very different from that he foretold.

I ſhall not attempt to follow *the French Miniſter* through the very elaborate and certainly able ſpeech he made in reply, with a view to convince me that the enquiry into the extent of my full powers was the ſtrongeſt proof the Directory could furniſh of their pacific intention, and the ſhorteſt road they could take to accompliſh the deſired end. It was in order to give activity to the negotiation (*activer* was his word), and to prevent its ſtagnating, that this demand was made

made ſo ſpecifically; and he intimated to me, that it was impoſſible for the Directory to proceed till a full and ſatisfactory anſwer had been given to it. I interrupted him here, by ſaying, their manner of acting appeared to me calculated to decide the negotiation at once, not to give it activity, ſince it muſt be known I could not have powers of the deſcription he alluded to; and even ſuppoſing I had, the admitting it would be in fact neither more or leſs than a complete avowal of the principle itſelf which once agreed to, nothing would be left to negotiate about. *The other French Plenipotentiary* interpoſed here, by ſaying, *that would not be the caſe; many articles would ſtill remain to be propoſed, and many points for important diſcuſſion.* I ſaid every word I heard ſeemed to preſent freſh difficulties. Without replying to me, *the firſt mentioned Miniſter* went on by endeavouring to prove, that the avowal of having powers to a certain extent did not imply the neceſſity of exerciſing them; that it was the avowal alone for which they contended, in order to determine at once the form the negotiation was to take; that the note and the time preſcribed in it, were in conſequence of the moſt poſitive orders from the Directory; and that if I drew from it a concluſion different from the aſſurances they had made me in the name of the Directory, I did not make the true inference. I replied, that although the preſcribing the day on which the queſtion was put to me as the term within which I was to give my anſwer to it, was both a very unuſual and abrupt mode of proceeding; yet as a day was much more than ſufficient for the purpoſe, I ſhould forbear making any particular remark on this circumſtance; that as to the inference to be drawn from the poſitive manner in which they appeared to maintain the queſtion put to me, I really could not make it different from that I had already expreſſed; that the reverting, after an interval of two months, to a queſtion already anſwered, and which queſtion involved the fate of the negotiation, it certainly could not be conſidered as wearing a very conciliatory appearance. That in regard to my anſwer, it could not be different from what I had given before; that my full powers which were in their hands, were as extenſive as any could be, and it did not depend on me to give them more or leſs latitude; but that in fact their queſtion went not to the extent of my full powers, but to require of me to declare the nature of my inſtructions; and on this point they certainly would forgive me if I did not ſpeak out till ſuch time as the circumſtances of the negotiation called upon me to do it.

The French Miniſter ſtrove to prove to me what he had before attempted, that the claiming a right of enquiry into the nature of the diſcretionary authority confided in a Miniſter, by no means implied an intention of requiring of him to act up to its utmoſt limits. I obſerved, if no ſuch intention exiſted, why inſtitute the enquiry? and if it did exiſt, why not ſay ſo at once? *He* ſaid, what we now aſk is little more than a matter of form; when you have given us your anſwer, we ſhall follow it up by another ſtep which we are ordered to take. I ſaid, my anſwer was given two months ago; that, although I was ready to give it them again, and in writing, as one to their note, yet, as it could not be different, I did not ſee why they ſhould not proceed immediately to the other ſtep, by which I was told the queſtion was to be followed up. It would be premature, ſaid *the French Miniſter*; but in drawing up your anſwer, do not forget the force of the arguments I have uſed, or, in your report to your Court, the aſſurances we have given of the earneſt wiſh of the Directory to terminate the war.

I replied, that I ſtill muſt maintain, that, from the manner in which they thought proper to define full powers, I could ſee no diſtinction between acknowledging the power and admitting the principle, and that the queſtion itſelf could not be put with any other intention—(your Lordſhip will obſerve, from the ſubſequent notes which paſſed between us, that I was perfectly grounded in this aſſertion)—that, in my reports, they might be fully aſſured I ſhould act up to that conciliatory ſpirit, which, from the earlieſt period of the negotiation, had always decided my conduct; and that, inauſpicious as appearances were, I certainly would be careful not to make them look *hoſtile*. At the word hoſtile, both the French Plenipotentiaries were moſt warm in their proteſtations, that nothing could be leſs ſo; that the idea of the negotiation breaking off was as far from their thoughts as their wiſhes. I ſaid, that although I heard this with pleaſure, yet I could not avoid adverting to facts, and that when, inſtead of an anſ-

wer,

wer, and the favourable anſwer which I had every reaſon to expect, I received only the repetition of a demand which had been already ſatisfied two months ago, I certainly could not think this a good omen. If it did not bode an immediate rupture of the treaty, it aſſuredly did not announce a near termination of it. *The above-mentioned Miniſter* perſiſted I was miſtaken; that the buſineſs would end ſpeedily; that ſpeed was their wiſh, and ſpeed with peace for its object.

On breaking up our conference, I ſaid, that I took it for granted we ſhould meet again at the uſual hour, on Sunday. He ſaid, that it perhaps might not be neceſſary, but that they certainly would let me know in time; and this conveyed to me the firſt idea of what has ſince taken place.

I incloſe your Lordſhip the note (A), I received in this conference from the French Plenipotentiaries, and the anſwer (B), which I made to it yeſterday at 10 A. M.

At 6 p. m. the note (C), was tranſmitted to me; to which at 8 p. m. I returned the anſwer (D), by Mr Roſs, whom I ſent in order that he might bring me the paſſports I aſked for; but a quarter before 10 p. m. M. Derche, Secretary of the French Legation, delivered to me the paper marked (E); and this morning at 9 a. m. I replied by the note (F), which immediately produced that marked (G).

The notes ſent me by the French Plenipotentiaries ſpeak for themſelves; and it is unneceſſary to enter into any reflections on them. I am willing to hope that the anſwers I made were ſuch as became the ſituation in which I ſtand, the importance of the cauſe intruſted to me, and the ſteady but temperate conduct which the ſpirit of my inſtructions injoin me to hold.

It was my wiſh to give every opening to the French Plenipotentiaries to recall the violent ſtep they had taken; and, if poſſible, to convince them of its extreme impropriety. And it was with this view, and with a moſt anxious deſire not to exclude all hope of the reſtoration of peace, that I determined on ſuggeſting the idea of our meeting once more before I left Lille.

This meeting took place to-day at noon: I opened it by obſerving, That the ſeveral notes they had received from me ſince the preceding evening, had been too expreſſive of the ſurpriſe I felt at the meaſure the Directory had thought proper to adopt to make it neceſſary for me to enlarge upon it in this conference: and indeed my ſole motive for ſuggeſting that it might be for our mutual ſatisfaction that it ſhould be held, was, becauſe this meaſure appeared to me to be in ſuch direct contradiction to the very ſtrong aſſurances I had ſo conſtantly and repeatedly heard from them, and to the pacific intentions with which they declared they were ſent, that it was my earneſt wiſh (before I conſidered their conduct as forcing me to a ſtep which muſt ſo materially affect the ſucceſs of the negotiation), to be perfectly certain that I underſtood clearly and diſtinctly the preciſe meaning of their official notes. On their admitting that nothing could be more reaſonable than that I ſhould, on ſo important a point, require explanation or more ſatisfactory to them than to give me (as far as lay in their power), I proceeded by ſaying, that it appeared to me that I was called upon to produce immediately my full powers, or rather my inſtructions (for however different there were in themſelves, in their demand they ſeemed conſtantly blended); and that if either I refuſed to conſent to this, or if, on conſenting to it, it was found that I was not authoriſed to treat on the principle they laid down, I was then in the ſpace of twenty-four hours to leave Lille, and return to my Court; and that I was required to obtain full authority, to admit this principle, if it was wiſhed the negotiation ſhould proceed. This, I ſaid, appeared to me to be the evident ſenſe of the note, and I begged to know whether I had miſtaken it or not? One of the French Plenipotentiaries ſaid, "You have underſtood it exactly; I hope you equally underſtand the intention of the French Government, which is to accelerate peace, by removing every obſtacle which ſtands in its way."

I replied, that having now no doubt left on my mind as to their exact meaning, and being quite ſure, notwithſtanding the obſervation they had made *que j'aurais fait la véritable intention de leur note*, it would, I feared, be a very unprofitable employment of our time to argue either on the nature of the principle they announced as a *ſine qua non*, to even a preliminary diſcuſſion, or on the extreme difficulty of reconciling the peremptory command with which they opened their miſſion, to the pacific profeſſions that accompanied it; that if they were

were determined to perſiſt in this demand, it was much better to avoid all uſeleſs altercation; and nothing in that caſe remained for me to do, but to aſk for my paſſports, and to ſignify to them my intention of leaving France at an early hour the next morning. They ſaid, they had their hands tied by an arrete of the Directory, and were bound to obſerve the conduct they had followed by the moſt poſitive orders; and although we remained together ſome time longer, not a hint dropped from them expreſſive of a wiſh that, inſtead of going myſelf for new inſtructions, I ſhould either write for them by a meſſenger, or obtain them by ſending to England one of the gentlemen who were with me. I endeavoured by every indirect means to ſuggeſt to them the neceſſity of adopting ſome ſuch modification, if they meant that their wiſhes for peace, in the expreſſion of which they were this morning more eager than ever, ſhould meet with the ſlighteſt degree of credit. I again brought to their recollection that I was authoriſed to receive any propoſal, any contre-projet they tendered to me, but that they muſt be aware that it was not poſſible for me to alter the orders I had received, or to aſſume an authority with which I was not inveſted. I dwelt particularly and repeatedly on my being competent to take any thing they ſaid for reference: but this availed nothing except drawing from *one of them* a remark, that the full powers which authorized a Miniſter to hear propoſals were widely different from thoſe which would enable him to accede to them; and that it was ſuch full powers that the Directory required me to ſolicit.

An eaſy anſwer preſented itſelf to this mode of reaſoning; but I ſaw no advantage to be derived from prolonging a converſation, which, after the poſitive declaration they had made, could lead to nothing; I therefore ended the conference by declaring my reſolution to begin my journey at a very early hour next morning, and by ſaying, that immediately on my arrival in England I would make an exact report of every thing that had paſſed ſince their arrival.

I truſt, my Lord, I ſhall not incur cenſure for having declined to offer, in diſtinct terms, to wait at Liſle till I could know his Majeſty's pleaſure on the peremptory propoſals made to me: But when I conſidered the nature of the propoſal itſelf, the avowal *that this would not be the laſt*, nor perhaps the moſt humiliating condition required of us, and the imperious ſtile with which I was enjoined to depart in twenty-four hours, it was utterly impoſſible for me to aſſume a language or uſe a manner that could not be interpreted into lamentation or entreaty: I felt myſelf called upon to treat the whole of this extraordinary proceeding with calmneſs and temper; and notwithſtanding the deep and poignant concern I muſt feel at an event which I fear will remove all poſſibility of an immediate pacification, I truſt that, in the expreſſion of this ſentiment, I have not uſed a language unbecoming the character with which I am inveſted, or the greatneſs of the Sovereign and country whoſe dignity and intereſts it is my primary duty to conſult and to maintain. I have the honour to be, with great reſpect, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed) *Malmeſbury.*

Right Hon. Lord Grenville.

No 43. (A.)

The underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commiſſioned to treat of Peace with England, have the honour to aſſure Lord Malmeſbury, Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty, that the French Government wiſhes as ſincerely, as ſtrongly as ever, a peace deſired by the two nations; but, unable to conclude any other peace than ſuch a one as is founded on the laws and on the treaties which bind the French Republic; perſuaded that, to arrive at this end, it is neceſſary to explain itſelf with entire frankneſs, and deſirous of giving to the negotiation the greateſt rapidity, the Executive Directory has expreſsly charged the underſigned to demand of Lord Malmeſbury, whether he has ſufficient powers for reſtoring, in the treaty which may be concluded, to the French Republic and to its allies, all the poſſeſſions which, ſince the beginning of the war, have paſſed into the hands of the Engliſh.

The underſigned are equally charged by the Executive Directory, to demand from Lord Malmeſbury an anſwer in the courſe of the day. They requeſt him to accept the aſſurances of their higheſt conſideration. (Signed)

Treilhard.
Bonnier.

By the miniſters Plenipotentiary of the France Republic, the Sec.-Gen.

Derebe.

Liſle, 29 Fructidor, 5th year of the Republic, Sept. 15. 1797.

No 44. (B.)

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty receives with great ſatisfaction the expreſſion of of the ſincere deſire for peace which the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic announced to him yeſterday in the name of their Government. He has the honour to aſſure them, that the King his maſter is animated with the ſame deſire, and has nothing more at heart than to put an end to the calamities of the war.

With regard to the queſtion which the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic addreſſed to Lord Malmsbury, concerning the extent of his full powers, he conſiders himſelf as having already given the moſt unequivocal anſwer upon this ſubject, in the two notes which he delivered to their predeceſſors on the 15th and 24th of July.

However, to avoid all miſunderſtanding, he renews the declaration which he made yeſterday; that is to ſay, that he neither can nor ought to treat upon any other principle than that of compenſations; a principle which has been formerly recognized as the baſis of a treaty equally juſt, honourable, and advantageous to the two powers.

Lord Malmesbury requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) *Malmesbury.*

Liſle, Saturday, Sept. 16. 1797. 10 a. m.

No 45. (C.)

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the anſwer of Lord Malmesbury to the note which was preſented to him in the conference of yeſterday.

It appears from this anſwer, and from the two notes of the 15th and 24th of July, to which it refers, that Lord Malmesbury has not powers for agreeing to the reſtitution of all the poſſeſſions which his Britannic Majeſty occupies, whether from the French Republic or from its allies.

In conſequence, while they reiterate to Lord Malmesbury the moſt poſitive aſſurances of the ſentiments of the French Government, the underſigned apprize him of a decree of the Executive Directory, which ſignifies, that in caſe Lord Malmesbury ſhall declare himſelf not to have the neceſſary powers for agreeing to all reſtitutions which the laws and the treaties which bind the French Republic make indiſpenſable, he ſhall return, in four and twenty hours, to his Court, to aſk for ſufficient powers.—Lord Malmesbury can ſee, in this determination of the Executive Directory, nothing elſe than an intention to haſten the moment when the negotiation may be followed up with certainty of a ſpeedy concluſion.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic requeſt Lord Malmesbury to accept the aſſurance of their high conſideration. (Signed) *Treilhard, Bonnier.*

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiary, the Sec.-Gen. of the Legation. *Derebe.*

Liſle, 30 Fructidor, 5th year of the Republic, Sept. 16. 1797.

No 46. (D.)

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note of this day, which has been ſent him by the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic.

Whatever regret he may experience at ſeeing the hope of a ſpeedy conciliation thus deſtroyed, he can return no other anſwer to a refuſal ſo abſolute to continue the negotiation on grounds which appeared to have been already agreed upon, than by demanding the neceſſary paſſports for himſelf and his ſuite, in order that they may ſet off within the four and twenty hours, and return immediately to England.

He requeſts the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

Malmesbury.

Liſle, Saturday, Sept. 16. 8 p. m.

No 47. (E.)

The underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Lord Malmesbury's anſwer to a note

note which they addreſſed to him this day.

They think it right to obſerve to him, that he does not appear to have ſeized the real meaning of their note; that it by no means contains a refuſal to continue their negotiations, but, on the contrary, the means for giving them activity, and for following them up with a ſucceſs, no leſs deſirable to the two nations, than it would be flattering to the Miniſters charged with the conduct of them.

The French Government is ſo far from entertaining the intentions which the note of Lord Malmesbury appears to impute to them, that the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic have received no order to quite Liſle, after the departure of the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty.

The Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration.

(Signed) *Treilhard.*
Bonnier.

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiary, the Secretary General of the Legation.
Derche.

Liſle, 30 Fructidor, 5th year of the French Republic Sept. 16. 1797.

No 48. (E.)

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic tranſmitted to him yeſterday, through the hands of the Secretary General of their Legation. He thinks I. cannot anſwer it better than by ſubmitting to them in his turn the following obſervations.

That having already, by his note, dated July 24, and in obedience to the expreſs orders of his Court, given an anſwer to the queſtion which is now ſo unexpectedly renewed, a queſtion, that in appearance relates ſolely to the limits of his full powers (which are in the moſt ample form), but which does in fact require a declaration of the whole extent of his inſtructions; and not being authoriſed to quite the place of his deſtination without the expreſs orders of the King his maſter, in any caſe except that of the rupture of the negotiation; he could not help conſidering a note enjoining him, in conſequence of a decree of the Executive Directory, to return to his Court in the ſpace of four and twenty hours, as ill calculated to accelerate the concluſion of peace:—Nevertheleſs, to anſwer the aſſurances of the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, and to teſtify his deſire to ſeize their real meaning, with reſpect to which he ſhould be very ſorry to deceive himſelf, he thinks that it would be more ſatisfactory to meet once more; and if the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic ſhould be of the ſame opinion, Lord Malmeſbury would propoſe that this meeting ſhould take place at an earlier hour than uſual, in order that he may have time to take ſuch ſteps as the reſult of their conference may render neceſſary. He deſires the Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the aſſurances of his high conſideration.

(Signed) *Malmeſbury.*

Liſle, Sunday, Sept. 17. 1797.

No 49. (G.)

The underſigned Miniſters Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commiſſioned to treat of peace with England, have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the note which the Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has tranſmitted to them this morning. Referring to the notes addreſſed to Lord Malmeſbury on the 29th and 30th Fructidor, and eſpecially to the firſt of yeſterday, they agree to the meeting which Lord Malmeſbury appears to deſire, and propoſe the hour of noon.

They requeſt Lord Malmeſbury to accept the aſſurances of their high conſideration. (Signed) *Treilhard.*
Bonnier.

Liſle, 1ſt complementary day, 5th year of the French Republic 17 Sept. 1797.

By the Miniſters Plenipotentiary, the Sec. Gen. of Legation, *Derche.*

No 50.—Diſpatch from Lord Grenville, to Lord Malmeſbury, dated Downing-ſtreet, Sept. 22. 1797.

My Lord, I have had the honour of laying before his Majeſty your Lordſhip's diſpatches, in which you have given an account of the extraordinary conduct of the new Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, of the anſwers given by your Lordſhip to their unjuſtifiable demand, and of your conſequent departure from Liſle.

I have the ſatisfaction to be able to aſſure your Lordſhip, that his Majeſty has been pleaſed to expreſs his entire approbation of your Lordſhip's judicious and temperate conduct in the unprecedented ſituation in which you were placed, and of the manner in which you expreſſed yourſelf, both in your official notes, and in your converſations with the French Plenipotentiaries, as well as of that in which you have conducted yourſelf during the whole courſe of the negotiation, which ſeems too likely to be now brought to its cloſe.

As it appears, however, that ſome further anſwer will probably be expected by the French Government to their late extraordinary demand, notwithſtanding the full and concluſive reply given in your Lordſhip's notes, I have received the King's command to tranſmit to you the incloſed draught of a note, which it is his Majeſty's pleaſure that your Lordſhip ſhould tranſmit to the Plenipotentiaries at Liſle, by a meſſenger whom I ſhall direct to be in readineſs for that purpoſe. (Signed)

Grenville.

Right Hon. Lord Malmeſbury.

No 51.

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majeſty has rendered to his Court a faithful account of the circumſtances that have interrupted the exerciſe of thoſe important functions which his Majeſty had been pleaſed to intruſt to him. His Majeſty has deigned to honour with his entire approbation the anſwers which the underſigned has already made to the extraordinary and unexpected demand which the new Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic addreſſed to him immediately upon their arrival at Liſle.

But in order to leave no doubt reſpecting the nature and object of this demand, the underſigned has been expreſsly ordered to declare in the name of his Court,

1. That the full powers with which his Majeſty had thought proper to furniſh him for negotiating and concluding a treaty of peace, are conceived and expreſſed in the moſt ample form, authoriſing the underſigned, fully and without reſerve, to ſign any treaty upon which he might agree with the French Plenipotentiaries, whatever its nature or conditions might be; conforming himſelf in all caſes to the inſtructions which he might receive from his Court.

2. That theſe full powers have been received and recognized as ſufficient, as well by the Plenipotentiaries with whom he has hitherto treated, as by the Directory themſelves, and that there is conſequently no room for any new diſcuſſion upon a ſubject which has already been cloſed by common agreement, and which moreover is not liable to any doubt or difficulty whatever; every thing which has been done hitherto upon this ſubject being entirely conformable to cuſtoms long eſtabliſhed and recogaized by all the nations of Europe.

3. That the demand of the Directory therefore, in reality, refers not to the full powers of the underſigned, but to the extent of his inſtructions, of which the Directory could not, under any circumſtances, require any communication, further than as the underſigned himſelf might judge ſuch a communication conducive to the ſucceſs of the negotiation; and that very far from being in a ſituation to be called upon for any new explanations whatever, the underſigned had every reaſon to expect, from the repeated communications which had been made to him by the French Plenipotentiaries, that he ſhould immediately receive a contre-project, of a nature to facilitate the further progreſs of the negotiation, which had been ſuſpended for more than two months.

4. That the Court of London had good reaſon to be ſtill more aſtoniſhed at the ſubſtance of the new demand made to the underſigned; a demand relating to preliminary conditions which had already been rejected at the very commencement of the negotiation, and from which the French Plenipotentiaries had in effect departed, by a formal notification of the meaſures which the Directory were in conſequence taking for the purpoſe of coming to ſome arrangement with their allies.

5. That it is therefore only by conſenting to treat upon the baſis of the project, detailed with ſo much openneſs, which was preſented by the underſigned a few days after his arrival at Liſle, or by returning a contre-project of a conciliatory nature, agreeably to the aſſurances which he received ſo long ago, that it appears poſſible to continue the negotiation which the Plenipotentiaries have ſo ſtrongly aſſured him that the Directory did

did not wish to break off, notwithstanding the measures lately adopted with respect to him: A measure which the undersigned forbears to characterise, but which could not fail to produce in this country the impression of a disposition by no means pacific on the part of the Directory.

The undersigned is directed to add, that his Majesty would see with real regret the certainty of the existence of such a disposition, so little compatible with the ardent desire with which he is animated to restore peace to the two nations; but that if, without having himself contributed to it on his part, he should again find himself under the necessity of continuing the war, he will conduct himself upon every occasion agreeably to the same principles, doing every thing which can depend upon him for the re-establishment of peace, but persisting to defend, with an unshaken firmness, the dignity of his Crown, and the interests of his people.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic to accept the assurance of his high consideration.

(Signed) *Malmesbury.*

London, the 22d of September 1797.

No 52.—The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, commissioned to treat of peace with England, have received the note, dated from London, which has been brought to them by an extraordinary messenger, from Lord Malmesbury. They have the honour to answer to him, that their note of the 29th Fructidor, to which they refer, offered the double assurance of the settled intention of the French Government to continue the negotiations for peace, and of its constant determination not to agree to any other conditions than such as are compatible with the dignity of the French Republic.

A peace, of which the basis should be contrary to the laws, or to the engagements taken with its allies, would never satisfy the hopes of the nation. It is a point from which the Executive Directory has never departed, and upon which its sentiments have never varied.

Lord Malmesbury having formerly declared, in his notes of the 15th and 24th of July, and in the last instance in that of the 17th September, that he had not the powers necessary for restoring the Dutch and Spanish possessions occupied by the troops of his Britannic Majesty, the Executive Directory has given a new proof of its openness, and of its desire to accelerate the conclusion of peace, in requiring Lord Malmesbury to return to his Court for the purpose of obtaining the authority, without which he cannot conclude; a measure rendered necessary by the declaration of the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, and upon which it is impossible to give a wrong impression to any thinking and impartial mind.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic request Lord Malmesbury to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) *Treilhard.*
Bernier.
Derche.

Lisle, 4th Vendemiaire, 5th year of the Republic, Sept. 25. 1797.

No 53.—The Ministers Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, charged to treat of peace with England, have the honour to inform Lord Malmesbury, that having sent a copy of his last note to their Government, the Executive Directory has directed them to declare in its name, that it has never ceased to wish for peace; that it gave an unequivocal proof of the sentiment which animates it, when it ordered the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the Republic to require a categorical explanation as to the powers given by the English Government to its Minister Plenipotentiary; that this demand had and could have no other object but to bring the negotiation to a speedy and successful issue.

That the order given to the Plenipotentiaries of the Republic to remain at Lisle after the departure of Lord Malmesbury, is another proof that the Directory had desired and foreseen his return, with powers that should not be illusory, and the limitation of which should no longer be a pretext for delaying the conclusion of peace.

That such are still the hopes and intentions of the Executive Directory, which enjoins the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic not to quit Lisle till the continued absence of the negotiator shall no longer leave any doubt of the intention of his Britannic Majesty to break off all negotiation.

That

That consequently the 25th Vendemiaire (16th of Oct. O. S.) is the period fixed for the recall of the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, supposing that at that time the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty shall not have arrived at Lisle.

The Executive Directory will feel the greatest regret that the conciliation already twice attempted should not be perfected; but its conscience, and the whole of Europe will bear it testimony, that it is the English Government alone that will have inflicted the scourge of war upon the two nations.

The Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic entreat the Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty to accept the assurances of their high consideration.

(Signed) *Treilhard.*
Bonnier.

The Sec. of the Legation,
Darcke.

Lisle, 16th Vendemiaire, 6th year of the French Republic (Oct. 1. 1797.)

No. 54.

The undersigned having laid before the King's Ministry the note of the Plenipotentiaries of the French Republic, is directed to observe to them,

That it is only in consequence of the formal and positive injunction of the Directory that he quitted Lisle; that his powers were neither illusory nor limited; and that nothing was omitted on his part to accelerate the negotiation, which has always been retarded by the delays of the Directory, and which at this moment is only suspended by its act.

With regard to the renewal of the conferences, the undersigned can only refer to his last note, where he has explained with frankness and precision the only means which remain for continuing the negotiation: observing, at the same time, that the King could no longer treat in an enemy's country, without being certain that the customs established amongst all civilized nations, with regard to public Ministers, and especially to those charged to negotiate for the re-establishment of peace, would be respected for the future in the person of his Plenipotentiary.

The Minister Plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, requests the Ministers Plenipotentiary of the French Republic, to accept the assurance of his high consideration. (Signed)

Malmesbury.

London, 5th October 1797.

BRITISH PARLIAMENT.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

Nov. 17. *Mr Bragge* brought up the report of the Secret Committee, which was read. It appeared, from the report, that from an investigation of the affairs of the Bank, the total amount of outstanding demands on the 11th inst. was 17,578,910l. And that the total amount of the funds, for the discharge of the same, (not including the sum of 11,683,810l. due from Government) was 21,418,360l. leaving a balance in favour of the Bank, 3,839,550l. The report then proceeded to state, that the Committee had examined the principal articles, and that the amount of the advance made to Government by the Bank had been so much reduced since the 25th of February last, as to amount to 4,258,840l. while on the other hand cash and bullion had been encreased in that time to five times the amount of what they were in February last, and to a much greater sum than at any time since Sept. 1795; and that the exchange with Hamburgh was greatly in favour of this country, and was likely to continue so, unless it should be affected by "political circumstances." On the subject of the continuance of the restriction, the report stated, on the authority of the Governor and Deputy Governor of the Bank, that no inconvenience could arise from the operation of the act; and in this opinion they were supported by the bankers and traders of London, who, though permitted by an act of the Legislature to draw out three-fourths of the cash deposited in the Bank, had taken only one sixteenth. The Committee concluded their report, by observing, that on account of "political circumstances," (meaning the probability of an invasion, and the possibility of sending money to Ireland), it is their opinion that it would be expedient to continue the restriction on the payment of cash by the bank.

On

On the motion of Mr Pitt, the report was ordered to be printed.

Mr Pitt then fignified his intention to bring in a bill for continuing the act of laft Seffion, for reftricting payments in cafh.

Leave was then given *nem. con.* to bring in the bill.

22. Various articles of fupply were voted.

General Fitzpatrick rofe to fuggeft a meafure, which he affirmed would contribute to ftrengthen the national force, without encreafing the public burthen. The propofition was to put the Britifh foldier upon a footing with the foldiers on the Continent in one refpect, by limiting the period of his fervice. In this country, which enjoyed a greater portion of liberty than any of our northern neighbours, he was aftonifhed that no definite term was fixed for the fervice of foldiers, and this would appear the more remarkable when the Committee confidered the time of life a man ufually entered into the army, the means ufed to enveigle them, and the hard fervice they were often called on to perform. This, he obferved, was not a novel doctrine, a fimilar propofition had been made twenty years ago, and a bill was introduced for limiting the fervice of foldiers to fix years. Had that bill paffed into a law, the country would now be well ftocked with people accuftomed to the ufe of arms; in this refpect it was a queftion of policy, and would have been at the fame time beneficial to the country, and tend to the improvement of the army. It was not his intention to bring forward fuch a propofition; indeed, the fituation of the houfe gave him no hopes of carrying it, if he did; he fhould therefore fubmit it to the confideration of Minifters. He concluded with a fentence in one of Burke's pamphlets, to the following effect: "Although the Houfe has fallen into infignificance, yet ftill it may be expedient to confer with the Minifter of a great nation."

Mr Windham thought that a period of war was not the time for trying experiments on the conftitution of the army.

22. The Houfe refolved itfelf into a Committee, to confider the act of laft Seffion, on Scotch Diftilleries, with a view to another bill to continue it.

Mr Pitt faid, he did not fo much regard the prefent as a queftion of revenue as of morality. The confumption of fpirits, he obferved, was fo great in Scotland, and fo injurious to the public morals, that unlefs an encreafe of duty operated as a check to the practice, it were better to facrifice revenue altogether, and fuppreft the diftilleries in that part of the country. He concluded by moving, that the Chairman fhould report progrefs, and move for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a time to be limited, the provifions of the faid act. Agreed to.

BUDGET.

24. In a committee of ways and means the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in purfuance of notice, rofe to call the attention of the committee, to a brief ftatement of the ways and means for raifing the fupplies for the enfuing year. As that part to which he folicited their particular attention, was, in a great degree, a deviation from the ufual mode that had been adopted from the laft century, he fhould not think himfelf entitled now to any decifive judgment. He therefore wifhed the prefent ftatement to be confidered as an explanation or notice, for a more detailed difcuffion, in order to a final decifion. After the unanimous declaration of the houfe, he truſted, that there would not be a diffentient voice on the neceffity of employing the moſt effectual means to defeat the avowed defigns of the enemy to deſtroy the wealth, the induſtry, and the independence of the country. The houfe had pledged themſelves to meet the danger with manly fortitude, and to ſhew that they were prepared to perſevere in the conteſt, whatever ſhape it may aſſume. On theſe principles he proceeded, and he believed the houſe and the nation were ready to act on them alſo.

Before he gave the material part of his ſtatement, he ſaid he ſhould take a curſory review of the leading heads of expenditure, which he ſhould have occaſion to provide for.

He began with the naval department, and adverting to the late increaſe of pay to the ſeamen, on account of the inadequacy of the former allowance, aſſured the committee, that ſuch regulations had taken place, as would render it improbable that the eſtimates in this extenſive ſervice ſhould be exceeded. The ſum voted on eſtimate for the ſervice of the enſuing year, amounted to 12,139,000l. The exceſs of navy debt, amounting to about three millions, would form no part

of

of the ſum for which he was this day to make proviſion. The intereſt upon it amounting to 250,000l. he intended to provide for in the courſe of the ſeſſion, and the outſtanding navy bills he ſhould propoſe to fund.

The next head of ſervice was the army. According to the financial committee, the extraordinaries for 1797, amounted to about four millions. Thoſe for 1776, could not be accurately aſcertained, till the end of the year. From the bills accepted, they might be ſtated at two millions and a half. The charge for barracks amounted to 400,000l. including the charge of guards and garriſons, the total amount of the army would be 10,112,000l.

The ordnance about 1,291,000l.

The ſupply for the year he briefly ſtated to be as follows:

Navy - -	12,539,000
Army - -	10,112,000
Ordnance - -	1,291,000
Miſcellaneous ſervices	673,000
Toward the reduction of the national debt -	200,000
Deficiency of grants -	689,000
In round numbers -	25,500,000

Entering into a comparative ſtatement of the laſt and preſent years, he ſhowed, that from a ſaving of two millions and a half in the naval ſervice, 1,200,000l. in the military, and two millions and a half in regulations in the extraordinaries, there would be a difference in favour of 1798 of no leſs than ſix millions.

But notwithſtanding all theſe reductions, the ſum now required would not be leſs than twenty-five millions and a half.

He next proceeded to the outline of the Ways and Means,

Land and Malt -	2,750,000
Produce of the conſolidated fund and lottery -	750,000
	3,500,000

After which there would remain 22 millions to provide for.

This ſum, he confeſſed, was of no light or trivial conſideration, and it was eminently difficult to point out a mode of furniſhing that would not preſs hard upon the people. The ſcheme which he had meant to propoſe would be the leaſt exceptionable that could be deviſed, and the emergency of affairs did not permit us to leave any practical reſource untried. The firſt part of the plan was an accommodation from the bank of three millions, to be lent on exchequer bills at ſhort dates. After this advance from the bank, which he ſhould propoſe to repay, at periods not remote, there would ſtill remain 19 millions to be provided for. The natural and uſual practice was, he ſaid, a loan, but there were ſtill many reſources left—this mode he knew was not exhauſted, but the ſtate of the funds, and the determination of the enemy to diſtreſs our public credit, rendered it inexpedient and impolitic to carry the funding ſyſtem to a much greater extent, and to avoid, if poſſible, entailing accumulated burthens upon our poſterity.

By a great exertion, it was, in his opinion, poſſible, even in the time of war, to reduce the ſums already funded, and by a quick redemption of thoſe to be funded, to make it eaſy to poſterity. In order to accompliſh that object, it would be neceſſary to raiſe as great a contribution as poſſible, and to reſort to the old practice for the remainder. He ſhould therefore propoſe, not as a vote now, but for the conſideration of the houſe, the raiſing, by a general tax within the year, of a ſum not leſs than ſeven millions, as a ſacrifice for the preſervation of all we poſſeſs. It would ſtill be neceſſary to provide a ſum of 12 millions, by way of loan, which, according to this curſory ſtatement, would complete the ſum required. This, as he had already hinted, would be negotiated on terms more generally advantageous to the country than any preceding one.

On a brief recapitulation, therefore, the Ways and Means ſhould ſtand thus:

Land and Malt -	2,750,000
Conſolidated fund -	750,000
Exchequer bills - -	3,000,000
Loan - -	12,000,000
Aſſeſſed taxes -	7,000,000
	25,500,000

Mr Pitt then proceeded to the chief object, namely, to acquaint the Committee with the mode of raiſing the ſeven millions; this he propoſed to do by an increaſe of the amount of the aſſeſſed taxes, regulated by a fair ſcale, and operating as extenſively as poſſible over all deſcriptions of perſons according to their ability. The ſcheme ſhould be ſo proportioned as to exclude, if poſſible, the claſs of people leaſt able to bear the additional burthen, and ſhould alſo contain in it the means of modification, abate-

batement and general relief. In a plan of fo general operation, many difficulties were to be furmounted; but he trufted it would be no objection that no fuch fyftem had been devifed by political economy. If right, the only queftion would be, whether any rule or criterion could be applied fo as to render the meafure efficient, and its operation on the different claffes proportionate to their means. The general head contained fuch a variety of articles, that it would be difficult to draw the line of demarkation. The duty attached on articles of the firft neceffity, on articles of convenience, and articles of luxury. They were in fome refpects fo blended and diverfified, that much would depend upon the difcretion of individuals, who, he was perfuaded, would avail themfelves of the occafion to manifeft their patriotifm, of which this would be the moft likely teft. In the firft place, it might be deemed expedient to exclude from the operation of the meafure, neceffitous houfe-keepers who have large families. Of this defcription there might be between 7 and 800,000, having under their roof not much lefs than four millions of dependents, &c.

There was another defcription of perfons whofe number could not be afcertained, who would be entirely exempt from the contribution: he meant perfons not liable to the affeffed taxes, who might amount to 5 or 600,000.

It appeared, according to the prefent ftate of the affeffed taxes, that about 2,700,000l. were collected from about 7 or 800,000 perfons, and of this number there was reafon to believe, that 400,000 did not contribute a larger fum than 150,000l. The total fum, propofed to be raifed was, he remarked, lefs than treble the amount of the annual produce. There would, however, be demands from thofe within the range of the meafure, whofe circumftances would entitle them to mitigation; he meant thofe who inhabited houfes, and were chiefly affected by the accumulated duties, as the old duty of 1789, the commutation-duty, and the late regulations on windows, &c. The other clafs, he faid, confifted chiefly of articles of luxury, as fervants, horfes, and carriages. It would be the ftudy of the houfe to regulate the fcale, fo as to make it bear equally on perfons of nearly the fame income; and it was no fmall recommendation, that it would give perfons aggrieved the means of relief.

Of the whole duty, the fum of 1,400,000l. arofe from the duty on houfes only, and he had reafon to believe, that not more than 3 or 400,000l. were raifed in the metropolis. He ftated for the liberality of the committee, to apply fuch a modification to thofe inferior houfe-keepers, who were affected by the duty, as would not affect the general productivenefs of the meafure. The furplus of the general amount would admit of this: on perfons of this defcription, the tax would operate only in a two-fold degree, and in this way there would be a produce of 2,800,000l.

On what he termed the voluntary duties, he fhould propofe a general treble affeffment, fubject, however to modifications. On a higher clafs of fociety an affeffment of 3½; and on the higheft orders of all, he fhould propofe a quadruple affeffment. Thefe he calculated at about 4,400,000l. The whole amount, according to this ftatement, would exceed feven millions.

Had the triple rate been adopted with refpect to all, it would have made the total upwards of 8,000,000l. but by the modification it was reduced to 7,000,000l. The difference was referved for the purpofe of giving relief to the lower claffes. To them it was propofed to give every poffible allowance, but thofe who fubmitted to optional taxes could not be fuppofed to be in want, and had no right to afk for redrefs. He was willing to abate of the tax where it appeared to be neceffary, even though the duty fhould be rendered lefs productive. With refpect to the rich, there could, in his opinion, be no difficulty. The number through the kingdom muft be fmall indeed, who would meafure their contribution by any other ftandard than that of their ability. The great majority of the nation, he was convinced, had concurred in the addrefs of both houfes of parliament, in ftating that we were engaged in a conteft for every thing that was dear to us as men. Every man muft recollect what he owed to his country, and what he owed to himfelf. What was thus contributed to the property of the ftate, was, in fact, contributed for his own fafety. With refpect to the members of that houfe, they had already expreffed their zeal, and would, no doubt, be anxious to give a pledge of their fincerity,

cerity. He had, therefore, no doubt, but what he now offered would meet the disposition of that house, as being founded in justice, liberality and wisdom. The only question which could occur to them was, whether the effort was adequate to the occasion? He trusted that it would prove to be fully sufficient: if not, undoubtedly, further efforts must be resorted to, if necessary. He must repeat, what he trusted that house and the nation would remember, that the present was but a temporary tax, and one which was recurred to on an occasion the most extraordinary. It was an effort made to avoid the worst of evils, and to preserve the greatest blessing which could fall to the lot of humanity.

There were some points in the general arrangement of this plan to which he should call the attention of the Committee for a few moments. It was necessary to provide, in the first instance, that the tax should not be eluded. It was not to be suffered that men should be allowed to diminish their expenditure for the purpose of evading the present taxes. This might be done in a variety of instances, where the person was well able to pay what was required, if the rate was to depend on a future estimate. He should therefore take for his guidance the estimate of the past year, as affording the most impartial estimate of the expenditure of the individual, as having been made before he had the present temptation to narrow the extent of his arrangements. There were cases, no doubt, where a failure may take place, or where the imprudence of an individual might have entangled him beyond his means. In such case, it might be necessary to call on such individual for a declaration, stating, that the amount of the tax exceeded the tenth of his income or means. This could not be called a disclosure of his disposable income. It was only saying, that the average of his income did not exceed a certain amount.

Such were the outlines of the plan which he wished to submit to the consideration of the house. If they should think proper to adopt them, they would at least have the satisfaction to reflect, that the taxes required no new law, nor the expence of additional officers to collect their produce. He would not pretend to say, that this plan was not imperfect, for imperfection was the characteristic of every human system; but he could not help thinking, that, when the common interest of the country was at stake, no man would wish to evade his due proportion of the impost. If it should appear that persons with hoards of wealth, evaded the vigilance of the minister of finance, all that could be done, after appealing to their patriotism, was to endeavour to make as just a proportion of the assessment as could be ascertained. If there was one moment more important than another, the present was the time; it was not a doubtful speculation for the future, but an exertion for our present existence.

With respect to the loan of twelve millions, his intention, in proposing that sum, was to bring it within such moderate limits as not to injure the public security, and with a view to preserve that security for ages to come. By the progress of the sinking fund, we had advanced to a situation which, when compared with former times, out ran every calculation of those not conversant with such subjects; and he was certain, that ere many years elapsed the country would be in as good a state as ever, and equal to the greatest contest. The principle which he hoped would be adopted in this instance, was one which would not only provide a tax for the expences of the present year, but would enable us to apply a considerable sum toward the liquidation of the national debt, supposing the war should be extended beyond another year. It would be absurd to say, that the progress of the war encreased the prosperity of the country; but our present situation, nevertheless, could not fail to impress the enemy with the just idea that our resources were unimpaired, and that, with all the disadvantages attendant upon the war, we had the means of liquidating our national debt, and of furnishing ourselves with the most effectual means of preparing for any future security. He meant to propose, provided the war lasted beyond another year, that the increased assessments should be continued until the liquidation of the loan from the bank.

His proposition, therefore, went to furnish a part of the supplies toward the payment of the loan, and to apply the remainder to the benefit of the sinking fund.—He was aware that his object, in departing from the usual system of funding, might meet with some disapprobation;

probation: that queſtion he would not now argue; but he thought that, as far as he now wiſhed to have recourſe to it, he could juſtify the meaſure. His great aim at preſent was to remove the difficulties which preſent themſelves to us, and he thought the moment was arrived in which we might look forward to the means of obviating any difficulty that might be apprehended. 16,000,000l. he thought might in the courſe of a few years be redeemed, by which an immenſe intereſt would be ſaved. He did not mean at preſent to take the ſenſe of the houſe upon his plan, but contented himſelf with moving, for forms ſake,

"That it is the opinion of this committee, that there ſhall be paid a duty, not exceeding treble the amount of the duties impoſed by ſeveral acts of parliament now in force, on houſes, and windows, and inhabited houſes, by the 6th, 19th, 24th, and 37th Geo. III. and likewiſe the ſeveral additional duties of 10 per cent. per ann. impoſed thereon by ſeveral acts of parliament, with certain exceptions and abatements.

This ſubject was not reſumed, till Monday Dec. 4. when Mr Pitt entered into farther explanations of his propoſed plan of aſſeſſment; after which, he moved the following reſolution:

"That the perſons aſſeſſed to duties on male ſervants, carriages, or horſes, either ſeparately, or with other duties not exceeding 30l. ſhall be charged with a duty equal to three times the amount thereof; and when it ſhall not exceed 50l. to three and a half; and when it ſhall exceed 50l. four times the amount thereof."

And the following were alſo read;

"The perſons aſſeſſed to the preſent aſſeſſed duties, and not aſſeſſed to the duties on ſervants, carriages and horſes, where the duty ſhall be under 1l. ſhould be charged with a duty equal to one half; when under 2l. with a duty equal to the amount; under 3l. with a duty equal to twice the amount; and above 3l. with a duty equal to three times the amount.

"That perſons liable to thoſe duties whoſe annual income is leſs than 60l. ſhall be exempted, and where more than 60l. and under 200l. ſhall be entitled to certain proportional allowances, viz. 60l. but under 65l. to be aſſeſſed at a ſum not exceeding the 1-120th part of the ſame.

65	-	70	- -	1-95
70	-	75	- -	1-70
75	-	80	- -	1-65
80	-	85	- -	1-60
85	-	90	- -	1-55
95	-	100	- -	1-50
100	-	105	- -	1-45
105	-	110	- -	1-40
110	-	115	- -	1-38
115	-	120	- -	1-36
120	-	125	- -	1-24
125	-	130	- -	1-32
130	-	135	- -	1-30
135	-	140	- -	1-28
140	-	145	- -	1-26
145	-	150	- -	1-24
150	-	155	- -	1-22
155	-	160	- -	1-20
160	-	165	- -	1-77
165	-	170	- -	1-18
170	-	175	- -	1-17
175	-	180	- -	1-16
180	-	185	- -	1-15
185	-	190	- -	1-14
190	-	195	- -	1-13
195	-	200	- -	1-12
195	-	200	- -	1-11
200	-	——	- -	1-10

"And where the ſaid annual income ſhall appear to be not leſs than 200l. every ſuch perſon ſhall be entitled to ſuch an abatement of the additional duty now granted as may be neceſſary to reduce the ſame in each caſe reſpectively to a ſum not exceeding one-tenth part of the ſaid income."

As this bill is undergoing various amendments and alterations in the committee, we ſhall delay taking further notice of it, till it be finally adjuſted.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

There was no public buſineſs of importance before the Houſe till the

22. When *Lord Moira* called their Lordſhips attention to the ſtate of Ireland. He ſaid, that notwithſtanding the little ſucceſs which had attended his laſt addreſs to their Lordſhips with reſpect to Ireland, he could not refrain from making one more, one laſt effort for that country. When he conſidered that, according to the official ſtatement which had been laid before the Houſe, the late negotiations for peace with France had been broken off, not in conſequence of the refuſed ceſſion of particular places, but upon the broad baſis of enmity, and,

as their Lordſhips had been prevailed upon to infer, in their Addreſs to his Majeſty, that it was with a deſign, on the part of that Republic, to overturn this Conſtitution, (an opinion with which he could never agree) it was certainly highly neceſſary to call forth the energy of every man in the empire; and the moſt effectual way to obtain his aſſiſtance would be to make him feel the bleſſings of that Conſtitution which he was called upon to protect. Miniſters talked of the flouriſhing ſtate of our exports and imports, which, according to them, notwithſtanding the numberleſs captures of our merchantmen, exceeded all former times, and from thence drew a concluſion that neither our commerce nor our manufactures had been injured by the war:—that it was not the caſe in Ireland, might be known from the melancholy fact, (if the Mayor of Dublin, and a moſt reſpectable committee of gentlemen, were to be credited) that 27,000 manufacturers, including their families, were in the greateſt diſtreſs; that it was abſolutely neceſſary to procure a daily ſupply for 20,000, to preſerve them from periſhing; and even, with that aſſiſtance, in the ſummer months too, many had died for want. So far from being in a flouriſhing ſtate, the looms were totally ſtopped; and thoſe parts, which, to his knowledge, were remarkable for their activity and induſtry, were now ſunk into idleneſs: indeed, one reaſon ſtated for a continuance of the reſtriction on the bank, was the probability that ſome ſupplies might be wanted to that kingdom; ſo that, inſtead of being an aſſiſtant in this arduous ſtruggle, ſhe was likely to prove a dead weight on Great Britain. This, he ſaid, led him to draw their Lordſhips attention to the preſent ſtate of that country, and to the diſtreſſes to which he had lately been an eye-witneſs. In doing this, he ſhould avoid mentioning particular acts of atrocity, and confine himſelf to ſuch as, from their number and probability, left no manner of doubt but that they were countenanced by that coercive ſyſtem, which, according to his idea, had been ſo erroneouſly adopted by the Government of that country. Never in his life did he hear of ſuch abſurd and diſguſting oppreſſive tyranny as that which he himſelf had ſeen exerciſed in Ireland. Every artifice was employed to ſeparate the characters of Iriſh and Engliſh, and to excite and preſerve an eternal animoſity between them. To ſo great a degree did this miſchievous and cruel prejudice prevail, that the ſoldiers arriving from England were taught to look upon every perſon they met with as a rebel and an enemy of Great Britain; the natural effect of which was, that they uniformly treated all as ſuch. It would give their Lordſhips ſome idea of the military tyranny under which the people groaned, when he informed them that there was not a man now in Ireland who was not liable to be taken out of his bed, or arreſted and impriſoned—ſeparated from his family and all his connexions—not allowed to have the leaſt communication or intercourſe with them—and after all, never be informed who were his accuſers or what was the nature of the charge imputed to him. Such was the ſituation in which, to his knowledge, numbers of perſons had been ſubjected, and every individual was every day under the apprehenſions of experiencing. At the ſound of the bell at nine o'clock every man was obliged immediately not only to ſhut up his houſe, but alſo to put out his fires and his candles. No circumſtances, no ſituation, were ſufficient to produce the ſmalleſt relaxation in this law. He could himſelf atteſt a ſingular inſtance of ſeverity and cruelty in enforcing it. A perſon who lived near the ſide of the road in the north of Ireland, was diſturbed one evening at nine o'clock by a man thundering at his door, who on its being opened, immediately ordered the maſter to extinguiſh his fires and his candle. The perſon would have readily, though perhaps not cheerfully complied, if it were not for the diſtreſſed ſituation of his family at the time. He earneſtly beſought the man, to permit him for that once, at leaſt, to keep a light, for that his child had fallen into fits; and his wife hung over the infant, anxiouſly watching its convulſions, and endeavouring all in her power to preſerve it from expiring. He offered to conduct him to this ſcene of misfortune, and uſed every ſolicitation to move him to comply with his requeſt. The executioner all the time remained inexorable, and the wretched father was obliged to obey, as the only means of preſerving his houſe and property from military execution. There was ſome years ago a kind of puniſhment called picketting, which was inflicted for great offences on ſoldiers

ſoldiers in the cavalry, which from its barbarous nature had long fallen into diſuſe.—This inſtrument was, however, lately revived, to extort confeſſions from thoſe unfortunate perſons in Ireland who might have been pointed out by ſome annonymous accuſer. Many inſtances muſt naturally have occurred where innocent perſons had no confeſſions to make, and yet were deliberately ſubjected to this excrutiating puniſhment. In ſeveral caſes, it happened that the perſon ſo picketted had fainted from intolerable pain: as ſoon as he recovered the picket was applied again, until again he fainted; a third time was the picket employed, and the tortured victim obliged to ſuſtain it till his ſtrength could hold out no longer. After all this, ſo keen were they for informations, whether true or falſe, it was impoſſible for them to tell, that they frequently continued their endeavours to exort confeſſions, by threatening to renew, on the ſame miſerable victim, the repetition of theſe tortures. A man educated under the Britiſh Conſtitution, and any ways acquainted with its ſyſtem and its principles, muſt know that it undoubtedly allowed him to keep a gun in his houſe for the defence of himſelf and of his property. The General who commanded in the north of Ireland iſſued a proclamation, commanding all the inhabitants immediately to deliver in their fire arms. It muſt be ſuppoſed that many of them heſitated to comply—a heſitation, it muſt be confeſſed, not altogether blameable, but which, however, ſubjected them to the ſeverest puniſhment. A party of militia was ſent out in queſt of thoſe arms, and if they chanced to find any, not contented with taking them away, they blew up, burnt, and deſtroyed the houſes, the furniture, and all the property. Even this, monſtrous as it muſt appear, was far from being the worſt. When a village was ſuppoſed to contain a certain quantity of arms, and the number delivered in did not happen to correſpond with their computation, a force was immediately detached, which, for its imputed omiſſion, burnt and deſtroyed the whole of the village indiſcriminately. Thus did the fate of whole families and villages frequently depend on the genius and caprice of the officer commanding a detachment, who deſolated and levelled them to the ground, whenever he had reaſon or inclination to ſuſpect that any arms were concealed. Was it after all this to be expected that Ireland was to be kept as a valuable appendage of the Britiſh Empire by military coercion, and by a conduct more ſavage and revolting than had almoſt ever been adopted towards a conquered country! he had himſelf ſeen conquered countries kept under by military law; but never did he ſee nor hear of perſons treated with the ſame cruelty, violence, inſult and ſcorn, as were now the people of Ireland.—Inſtead of diſſolving the bands of United Iriſhmen, they had ſwelled that body to ſuch a degree, that he had good reaſon to fear they were now as numerous in the ſouth, as they were known to be in the north. There were, he believed, a great number of perſons of diſtinction who regretted much, that theſe violent and compulſory meaſures had ever been adopted, but who, notwithſtanding, were afraid that we had advanced too far at preſent to recede, and reſted all their hopes of preſerving that country, upon the precarious ſucceſs of the meaſures now purſued. But he, having lately viſited that country, and taken pains to enquire into the opinions of the people, was ſo far from deſpairing, that he was thoroughly convinced it was not yet too late to recover the cordial affections of Ireland by meaſures of conciliation. But in order to effect this, he alſo was perſuaded that it muſt be done ſoon, that no time was to be loſt, and that every moment was precious.—However great might be our military force, however vigorous and prompt our meaſures of coercion, it was folly to ſuppoſe that, under the preſent ſyſtem, Ireland could poſſibly be retained for five years, as forming any part of the united Empire. Let their Lordſhips but conſider—(here he pauſed for a conſiderable time, and then proceeded.) He was glad, he ſaid, that he recollected himſelf. What he was about to ſay, would perhaps be imprudent before ſo large an audience. If we meant to retain Ireland, it muſt be by burying in mutual oblivion every thing that was paſt—by deſtroying the ſeeds of animoſity, and diſpenſing the laws equally to all without any diſtinction in gradations of rank or quality—by diffuſing over all the benefits of a free and happy Conſtitution, and by uniting in one maſs of love, loyalty, and fidelity, men of all perſuaſions, without any

any regard to their religion. At present he meant to submit no motion on this subject. He had endeavoured to discharge a duty which he thought indispensible; he had laid before them a true and unexaggerated statement of the miserable and alarming condition of Ireland, and it was the dearest wish of his heart, that he may be permitted to prove it, at the bar of their House, or before the Privy Council.

Lord Grenville observed, that the Noble Earl's declining to make any motion on the subject he had thought proper to introduce, was the strongest possible proof that it was a question which ought not in that place to be brought into discussion; of course he should not attempt to argue it at much length. It might be sufficient for him to say, that, as the interference of that House with any thing respecting the internal regulations of Ireland would be an infringement of the Constitution of that kingdom, they could not debate upon it without breaking the solemn compact between the two countries; but he could not avoid saying a few words upon the subject. His Lordship then proceeded to shew, that, during the whole reign of his present Majesty, one invariable system of concession and indulgence had been pursued with regard to Ireland; and he strenuously denied that any steps were now taken which the exigencies of the times did not absolutely demand, to preserve it from a dangerous and extensive conspiracy, to render it a province of our inveterate enemy the Republic of France.—A Committee of both their Houses of Parliament had proved the existence of this conspiracy beyond the least possible doubt, and the conspirators had carried it to such a height, as to have a Committee for the purpose of paying sums of money for assassination. —He had a printed paper, wherein a number of individuals were set down, as meriting the resentment of Irishmen; and it was plain that, by the word resentment, they meant assassination, for they were all persons who had been active to check and oppose their intentions; and he was sorry to add, that informers, witnesses, and magistrates, had been murdered, to check the progress of justice. That, under such circumstances, some excesses might occur, he should not attempt to deny; but that the Noble Lord should charge the British soldiers with being the regular instruments of cruelty, gave him no small degree of astonishment, since humanity was one of their leading characteristics. He was no less astonished at his treating so lightly our late naval victories, which must have convinced our enemies that we were proof against their most desperate attempts. After slightly touching upon the finances and resources of the country, his Lordship again reverted to his opinion, that the Parliament of this kingdom could not interfere without infringing the solemn compact between the two countries.

Captures for November and December.

A French lugger of 4 guns and 30 men, destroyed by the Stag frigate.

A French schooner privateer, of 4 guns, pierced for 14, and 50 men, by the Childers sloop.

A small French privateer, by the Fairy sloop.

A French national corvette, of 14 guns and 70 men, conveying dispatches to the West Indies. Likewise a French privateer of 24 guns and 230 men, formerly the British frigate Hyæna, by the Indefatigable, Sir E. Pellew.

A French lugger privateer of 8 guns and 55 men, by the Albatross.

A French privateer of 20 guns and 120 men, by the Boadicea.

Two French privateers, one of 16 guns and 145 men; the other of 18 guns and 189 men, by the Cerberus.

A Spanish corvette of 16 guns and 74 men, with dispatches from the Caraccas, by his Majesty's ship Majestic.

A French privateer of 14 guns and 90 men, by the Blanch.

A French privateer of 16 guns, number of the crew not mentioned, by the Diana.

A French privateer, by the Clyde frigate.—And another of 12 guns and 90 men; but unfortunately she upset.

LONDON.

At a Court-Martial holden on board his Majesty's ship Circe, in the River Medway, and continued by adjournment, in pursuance of an order, signed by the Commissioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and directed to the members who composed the Court to try Captain John Williamson, late of his Majesty's ship

Agin-

Agincourt, upon certain charges preferred againſt him. (See p. 924.) The Court, after hearing the evidence adduced on the part of the proſecutor, and the defence, together with all the evidence the priſoner choſe to bring forward; and, after having weighed the whole maturely and deliberately, are of opinion that charges of cowardice and diſaffection have not been proved againſt the ſaid Captain Williamſon; that the other charges have been proved in part; therefore the Court pronounces the following

Sentence:

"That the ſaid Captain John Williamſon be put at the bottom of the liſt of poſt captains, and be rendered incapable of ever ſerving on board any of his Majeſty's ſhips."

Signed by the Court, &c.

As ſoon as Mr Binſtead, the Judge-Advocate, had concluded the ſentence, the Preſident informed the Provoſt Marſhal, that Captain Williamſon was no longer in his cuſtody, and the Court then diſſolved.

Captain Williamſon, though rendered incapable of ever ſerving on board any of his Majeſty's ſhips, is, from his not being ſtruck entirely off the liſt, entitled to half pay; from which, however, ſome deduction will be made in conſequence of his being put at the bottom of the liſt of poſt captains.

The fate of the Prince Frederick, extra-ſhip from Bengal, is now decided beyond the poſſibility of a doubt, by the arrival of Mr Kean, an aſſiſtant ſurgeon, who partook of all the diſtreſſes experienced by the crew previous to her ſinking off Teneriffe. For above ten preceding days, they had only the ſcanty allowance of a bottle of beer per day to every three men; all hands during moſt part of that time had been kept to the pumps, which were at length completely chocked up, by the indigo oozing through the ſides. From the cargo bulging in almoſt every direction, it was generally immagined the ribs of the veſſel would be beaten to pieces; and, no hopes or ſuccour remaining, the crew, with that cuſtomary ideotiſm which deſperation in theſe inſtances too often produces, rifled every article between decks, broke open the officers cheſts, and pierced the caſks of Madeira—moſt of them ſoon became completely inebriated. In this ſtate of diſorder, the captain and officers, on the 9th day of their diſtreſs, obſerved two large veſſels at a conſiderable diſtance; guns were fired, and at length one of the ſhips blew up; the other came within two miles of the elated beholders, and then changed her courſe; the ſucceeding morning another ſhip came within nearly the ſame diſtance, and as ſuddenly took another track; to her ſucceeded a French frigate, the Inſurgent, to which the Prince Frederick of courſe ſtruck: all but two of the crew were helped on board, one of them fell overboard, the other, refuſing all aſſiſtance, ſwore he would ſink with the ſhip; which he did in leſs than ten minutes.

In the Council Chamber of the hall in the market-place in Norwich, is erected the following device, a memorial of the glorious action of the 14th of Feb. 1797: An anchor, to the ring of which is ſuſpended a yard and ſail, ſuppoſed to be torn in action, on which is inſcribed—"The ſword of the Spaniſh Admiral Don Xavier Winthyſen, who died of the wounds he received in an engagement with the Britiſh fleet under the command of Admiral Earl St Vincent; wherein the heroic valour, and cool determined courage of Rear Admiral Sir Horatio Nelſon, K. B. had ample ſcope for their diſplay.—He being a native of Norwich, honoured the city by preſenting this ſword, ſurrendered to him in that action."—From the ſhukes of the anchor the ſword is ſuſpended. Underneath is the coat of arms of Sir Horatio Nelſon, which was given to him by the King.

A general bill of all the Chriſtenings and Burials, from December 14, 1796, to December 12, 1797.

Chriſtened,		Buried,	
Males,	9615	Males,	8577
Females,	9030	Females,	8437
In all,	18,645	In all,	17,014

Whereof have died,

Under 2 years,	5111	70 and 80	1269
Between 2 & 5	1422	80 and 90	411
5 and 10	600	90 and 100	64
10 and 20	581	A 100,	1
20 and 30	1262	A 102,	1
30 and 40	1692	A 103	1
40 and 50	1754	A 107	1
50 and 60	1678	A 117	1
60 and 70	1340		

Decreaſed in the burials this year 1274.

There have been executed in Middleſex, and Surry, 24; of which number 15 have only been reported to be buried as ſuch within the bills of mortality.

Britiſh

British Ships Loft, Taken, or Deftroyed, in 1797.

	Guns.		Guns.
La Vipere,	18	Lacedemonian,	12
Amazon,	36	Port Royal (Sch)	
Hermes, -	24	Le Mignonne,	32
Blonde (Tender)	24	Artois. -	38
Brighton (Ten),	14	Fox (Cut)	12
Albion, -	60	Fortune	16
Tartar, -	28		

Ships of the Enemy Loft, Taken, or Deftroyed in 1797.

French.

La Tortue -	44	Jalouse -	16
Surveillante	44	La Mutine	14
Ville de L'Orient		A Brig -	6
(SS) -	36	La Calliope	36
Sufferin (SS)	44	La Freedom	8
L'Atalanta (Sr)	18	La Galeté	20
L'Allegre (SS)		A Ship -	22
La Droits		A Brig -	12
D'Homme	74	L'Hasalite	8
A Schooner	2	La Petit Diable	18
La Refiftance	48	L'Hipofr	16
La Confiance	24	La Decouverte	18
La Medelle	20	Le Ranger	14
La Harmonie	44		

279 Privateers, guns 1440—Taken from Jan. 1. 1797. to Nov. 29. 1797.

Dutch.

Vryheid -	74	Herculus	64
Jupiter -	74	Delft -	56
Haerlem -	68	Allmaar -	56
Admiral Devries	68	Mumichiken-	
Gelderland	68	Dam, -	44
Wasenaer,	64	Ambuscade	32

Spanish.

Salvador del		San Damafo	74
Mundo	112	Magallanes	4
San Jofef	112	Ejean -	36
San Nicolas	80	Ninfa -	36
San Ysidro	74	Pilotis Virgin	
San Vicente	84	Maria -	12
Gallardo	74	Nuestra Senora	
Arrogante	74	del Rofario	20
San Cecilia	36	San Francisco	18

LISTS.

MARRIAGES.

At the Cape of Good Hope, Capt. James Lavie of the Matross Cattle, to Miss Augusta Thomas.

Dec. 26. At Dundee, Mr Robert Thornton, merchant, to Miss Agnes Small, daughter of the Rev. Dr Small.

— Wm Kerr, Esq; to Miss Francis Lindesay, daughter of Wm Lindesay, Esq; of Fidinch.

BIRTH.

Dec. 29. Mrs Roy of Nenthorn, a daughter.

DEATHS.

Lately, the Right Hon. Lord Belhaven.

Dec. 10. Mr John Gordon, Accomptant to the British Linen Company for 51 years, aged 88.

24. At Whitehaugh, James Badenoch, M.D.

25. At Dechmont, Linlithgowshire, Mrs Isobel Younger, relict of John Gray, late of Randyfoord.

27. John Wilkes, Esq; Alderman of the Ward of Farringdon Without, and Chamberlain of the city of London.

— Wm Lorimer of Kynds Hall, sometime spirit-dealer in Dumfries.

29. At Dover, Robert Colt, Esq. of Auldhame.

31. At Ballewick, Ireland, Andrew Houston, Esq; of Calderhall, Captain in the Roxburgh fencible cavalry.

PROMOTIONS.

War-Office, Oct. 28.

26th light dragoons. Major Robert Gordon, from the 2d dragoons guards, to be Lieutenant Colonel.

1ft foot guards. Firft Major Francis D'Oyly, to be Lieutenant Colonel.

49th foot. Major Haac Brock, to be Lieutenant Colonel. Capt James Rooke, to be Major.

60th foot. Capt. Julines Herrieg to be Major.

Nov. 6. 21ft foot. Major Lord Evelyn Stuart, to be Lieutenant Colonel.

Nov. 11 66th foot. Captain Willoughby Gordon, to be Major.

Nov. 14. 5th foot. Capt Wm Guard, to be Major.

63d foot. Captain R. M. Johnfton, to be Major,

Nov. 18. 1ft bat. 1ft foot. Major Robert Nicolfon, to be Lieutenant Colonel.

34th foot. Captain George Anderfon, to be Major.

Dec. 19. 6th dragoons. Major-Gen. George Earl of Pembroke, to be Colonel.

16th foot. Major Gen. Henry Bowyer to be Colonel.

38th foot. Captain John Liddle Borland, to be Major.

81ft foot. Major L. Albert Parry, to be Lieutenant Colonel, Capt. R. Hall Sheaffe, to be Major.

Dec. 20. 20th light dragoons. Major George Anfon, to be Lieutenant Colonel.

26th light dragoons. Captain James Moore, to be Major.

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THE

SCOTS MAGAZINE;

OR

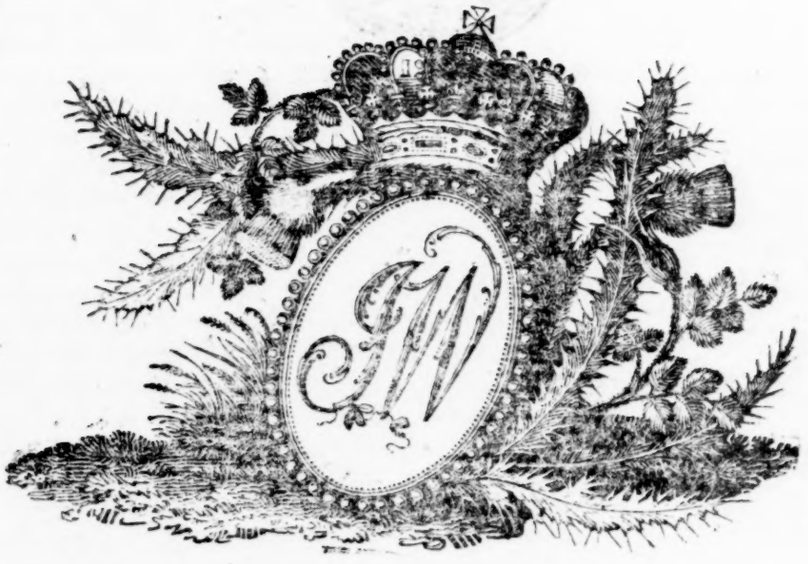
GENERAL REPOSITORY

OF

LITERATURE, HISTORY, AND POLITICS,

FOR THE YEAR M,DCC,XCVIII.

Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat.



VOL. LX.

OR VOLUME FIFTH OF A NEW SERIES.

EDINBUGRH:

PRINTED BY ALEX. CHAPMAN AND CO.

FOR JAMES WATSON, NO 40. SOUTH BRIDGE.

1798.

The domeſtic occurrences of the paſt year have not been remarkable. In Parliament, the moſt important ſubject of diſcuſſion has been the Miniſter's tax on income. The chief foreign events are the following:

A popular commotion in Rome, excited by the extremity of want to which the lower claſſes of the people were reduced by the ravages of the French, furniſhed a pretext for entirely overthrowing the papal power in that city, and forming what is called a *modern* Roman republic. The ſeals of the French Republic were fixed on the muſeums and galleries, and whatever they contained was confiſcated for the benefit of the Great Nation; even the Pope's private library, collected by himſelf, which he earneſtly requeſted to be allowed to retain, was notwithſtanding ſold to a bookſeller in Rome for 12,000 crowns.

March. The commotions in Ireland during the laſt year roſe to a moſt alarming height. On the 31ſt of March, a proclamation was iſſued by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, declaring that a traiterous conſpiracy exiſted within the kingdom, for the ſubverſion of the authority of his Majeſty and the Parliament; the deſtruction of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and government.

On the 24th of May it was announced, that open rebellion exiſted in the counties of Wicklow, Carlow, Dublin, Wexford, Antrim, Meath, and Kildare; and it afterwards appeared, that on the 25th, Lieut. Gardner, at the head of a detachment of the Antrim militia, had encountered between three and four thouſand of the inſurgents, whom he defeated, killing three hundred of them. On the 26th, another conſiderable body of inſurgents ſuppoſed to amount to 4000, cut off 100 men of the Cork Militia.—At Monſteraven, the inſurgents loſt 400 men; and 50 at Carlow.

A ſquadron of ſhips and tranſports, commanded by Captain Home Popham, having a body of troops on board, under the command of Major-General Coote, ſailed from the Nore, for the purpoſe of blowing up the baſon-gates and ſluices of the Bruges canal, and deſtroying the internal navigation between Holland, Flanders, and France. On the 18th the troops were landed, amounting to about 1400 men, and the deſtruction of the ſluices was in ſome degree effected, but the wind ſuddenly ſhifting and blowing very hard, the troops were not able to re-embark, and the whole ſurrendered themſelves priſoners to the detachment of French troops which marched againſt them.—Sir Sydney Smith, who had been long a priſoner in the Temple at Paris, (having been taken on the 18th of April 1796, on board the Diamond frigate which he commanded), was liberated, by a plan concerted in England, and effected his eſcape to this country on the 13th of May.

June. Lord Edward Fitzgerald died of the wounds he received, in reſiſting Meſſrs Ryan and Swan, when they apprehended him on a charge of high treaſon.—Mr Ryan alſo died in conſequence of the wounds he received from his Lordſhip.

There was a terrible conflict between the regulars under Lieut.-Gen. Lake, and the inſurgents at New Roſs; in the event of which the latter were defeated with great ſlaughter—Lord Mountjoy, on the part of the regulars, fell in the beginning of the engagement.

20. Marquis Cornwallis arrived at Dublin, as Lord Lieutenant and Commander in Chief of the armies of Ireland. On that and the ſucceeding day, a ſquadron under the command of Sir Thomas Williams in the Endymion, in two attacks on the harbour of Wexford, gained poſſeſſion of the town, drove the inſurgents out of it, and took priſoners two of their generals, Hay and Roche.

An attack was made on Hacketſtown, by ſeveral thouſands of the inſurgents; which was ſo completely repelled by troops under the command of Lieut. Gardner, that thirty cart loads of their killed and wounded were ſaid to have been carried off by them in their retreat; and thirty of their dead were found in the ſtreets and ditches. On the ſide of the regulars, there were only

only ten killed and twenty wounded. Amongſt the former was Captain Hardy of the Hacketſtown yeomanry.

An attack was made on 5000 of the inſurgents, near Kilkenny, by the troops under Sir Charles Aſgill; when Murphy the prieſt, (their leader), was killed, and upwards of a thouſand others—Their colours were taken, with cannon, arms, cattle, &c.—On the ſide of the regulars, it is not publicly known that more than ſeven were killed and wounded.

The conduct of the French Directory to the United States of America having been of the moſt haughty and inſulting nature, the United States paſſed a bill, declaring the treaties ſubſiſting between France and America null and void. It was carried 14 to 5.

A large fleet having been fitted out at Toulon with numerous tranſports, on board of which 40,000 troops are ſaid to have embarked, General Buonaparte being the Commander in Chief; he arrived off Malta on the 9th of June, and the iſland ſurrendered on the 12th. As ſoon as the neceſſary arrangements were made, the General quitted Malta, leaving a garriſon of 4000 men, proceeded to Alexandria, and from thence to Cairo.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, Admiral Nelſon attacked the French fleet in the bay of Aboukir, and atchieved a glorious victory.

A Ruſſian fleet paſſed the Dardanelles, and a formal declaration of war was made againſt the French by the Grand Signior.—In October 60,000 Ruſſian troops entered Bohemia.

A ſmall French ſquadron landed about 800 men, under the command of Gen. Humbert, at Killala, where they were joined by great numbers of the inſurgents, and engaged in ſome petty ſkirmiſhes with the regulars. They remained in the country till the 8th of September, when they ſurrendered to the column under Gen. Lake.—During the reſidence of the French in Ireland, vaſt numbers of the inſurgents are reported to have fallen.

Another French ſquadron from Breſt, appeared off the coaſt of Ireland; the next day, Sir John Borlaſe Warren fell in with them; an engagement took place, in the event of which the French were defeated, with the loſs of one ſhip of the line and three frigates.—Three other frigates that had diſperſed were taken by our cruizers.

The French made another attempt upon Ireland (in the neighbourhood of Killala), with two brigs, two corvettes, and a luggar, ſuppoſed to have been equipped at Dunkirk, and having 1200 troops on board; but, on learning the fate of the other expeditions, they put to ſea without landing.

Of the leaders in the Iriſh revolt, ſome have fallen; others have been diſperſed; and ſeveral have ſuffered the puniſhment of the laws.—From the information derived in the courſe of the trials, it is very evident that the object was never clearly aſcertained between the chiefs of the rebellion and their foreign allies: The former wiſhing to reſtrict the number of the latter to a body *only* ſufficient to aſſiſt them in breaking their connection with Great Britain, and then to withdraw themſelves; whilſt their pretended allies, in conformity to their general views, were anxious to avail themſelves of the diſaffection of a part of the inhabitants, to aid them in ſubjugating the whole.

The French have made themſelves maſters of the Swiſs Cantons, after many ſevere conflicts with the brave but unfortunate natives, on whom the moſt unqualified depredations have been committed.

About the beginning of December, hoſtilities commenced between the Neapolitans and the French; the advantage being (according to their own accounts) in favour of the latter. Official accounts were received in December of the ſurrender of Minorca to the Britiſh troops; alſo of the capture of the iſland of Goza, adjoining to Malta.

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For JANUARY 1798.

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